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Debates of Lincoln and Douglas

A Bibliographical Discussion*

By ERNEST J. WESSEN

THOSE who directed our early Presidential contests must have been followers of Isaac Disraeli (he who once said he preferred pamphlets to war-horses); for the battles for the office of Chief Executive, during the first half of the nineteenth century, were truly paper campaigns. Going back to the days of Jefferson and contemplating the quadrennial struggles which followed, one wonders not at the quantities of printed matter with which the voters were showered so much as he marvels at the prodigious output of the paper mills and the printers who produced them. Each campaign brought forth an increasing deluge of broadsides, leaflets, pamphlets and colorful campaign newspapers until, in 1840, the heyday of this type of political campaigning was reached in the picturesque "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" campaign.

When one considers the mass of material which appeared over a wide area within a period of a very few months, and that many ephemeral pieces gained no circulation outside the remote communities in which they were published, when we contemplate the

* This paper was read at the meeting of the Society held 18 January 1946.

not infrequent variants and revisions, we are then able to understand the reluctance of bibliographers to undertake studies of such subjects as Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and William Henry Harrison, to mention but a few.

Perhaps the advent of the telegraph sounded the death-knell for this method of campaigning. Certainly the contests following that of Harrison and Van Buren were relatively desultory until, in 1860, there was a substantial revival of the methods of their "Tippecanoe" campaign. This may have been because the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was himself a veteran of that campaign, and had been an enthusiastic user of the material then available. On March 1, 1840, he wrote to his law partner in jubilance over the subscriptions to their local Whig campaign newspaper *The Old Soldier*.[1] Again, as a member of the Whig Central Committee, he prepared a pamphlet "to silence the clamour against Harrison on abolition and slavery."[2] (No copy is known to have survived.)

Certainly Lincoln belonged to that old school in which the keen mind of the master politician was alert at all times to the adaptability and availability of material for use in coming campaigns. Though, in 1858, Lincoln had lost the Senatorial contest to Stephen A. Douglas, their famous series of debates had served to bring him into the national limelight, and there could have been no doubt (in his own mind at least) that, in the records of those debates, he possessed a priceless campaign document. The story of how he made up a scrapbook containing clippings of his speeches as published in the friendly *Press-Tribune* of Chicago, and Douglas' speeches as reported by a newspaper friendly to his cause (*Chicago Times*), is well known and needs no elaboration here.

[1] Harry T. Pratt, *Lincoln 1840-1846. Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1st, 1840 to December 31st, 1846.* (Springfield, Illinois, The Abraham Lincoln Association, [c. 1939]), p. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Several stories of Lincoln's attempts to have the debates published have survived, but the only one deemed worthy of consideration is that related by his law partner, William H. Herndon: "A gentleman is still living, who, at the time of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, was a book-publisher in Springfield. Lincoln had collected newspaper slips of all the speeches made during the debate, and proposed to him their publication in book form, but the man declined fearing there would be no demand for such a book."[3]

In later years this unnamed publisher was to be referred to in disparaging terms because of his lack of judgment; yet we do not find it hard to understand his position. To Lincoln the debates remained a hot dish, but to a commercially-minded publisher they were but the cold scraps of yesterday's political barbecue, holding no appeal to him, and little if any for his buying public. Also, a politically-minded publisher may have felt that the publication involved one of those hairline decisions, which the practical politician seeks to dodge. For if the debates provided Lincoln-brand dynamite for his followers, it is equally true that they provided Douglas' adherents with effective ammunition. "On their merits," wrote a great politician years later, "the debates 'deserve little notice.' "[4]

Lincoln's worries about publication (if he had any) were resolved in December, 1859, when the Republican State Central Committee, of Ohio, wrote him asking for copies of his debates for publication.[5] He lost no time and, on December 19, 1859, wrote transmitting his collection of clipped reports of the debates. There was hardly any choice as to publishers. Not only was the

[3] William H. Herndon and Jesse William Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln.* (Chicago, New York and San Francisco, Belford, Clarke & Company, [c. 1889]), III:451, n.

[4] Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln 1809-1858.* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1928), II:635.

[5] *Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, in the celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois.* First Edition (Columbus, Ohio, Follett, Foster and Company, 1860), pp. iii-iv.

firm of Follett, Foster and Company the leading publisher in Columbus, but the senior member of the firm, Oran Follett, had, while serving as editor of the *Ohio State Journal*, been one of the founding fathers of the Republican party in the state.

Some writers on the Lincoln theme seem to have read into this action of Ohio Republicans a sort of endorsement for the Presidency. With this thought in mind it has occurred to them that the utmost speed was called for in its publication, as the national convention was but a few months away. Nothing could be more absurd. Nor was the book to be a campaign "throw away" broadcast by the thousands to the voters. Its very bulk and cost precluded this. The pioneer student of this work, Edward Earl Sparks, refers to it as a "handbook for the approaching campaign,"[6] and an examination of its bare, unadorned content does indeed indicate that it was published as a handbook for campaign stump-speakers. The convention was still months away, and there existed no urgency calling for hasty production.

The book is an exceedingly common one; yet it is an indispensable foundation stone in any Lincoln collection, and enthusiastic Lincolnians singled it out for special study at an early date. Just how early we do not know, but I am quite certain that the first edition was identified around the turn of the century, if not before.

We know that DeWitt Miller, for one, spent some years in his investigations. In the collection of the Lincoln National Life Foundation is a copy of what we now know to be the second edition, inlaid in which is a letter from A. P. Russell to Mr. Miller, dated January 22, 1907, identifying this particular copy as a "true copy of the first edition." (Russell had been among those Ohio politicians who had written to Lincoln for permission to publish the book.) In the collection of Carroll A. Wilson is another letter from Russell to Miller dated even earlier, June 11, 1905. Therein Miller advances information that the debates were

[6] Edwin Earl Sparks, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1859*, in: *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Society. (Springfield, Illinois, 1908), III:591.

"printed in Columbus in 1859." If Russell's letters serve any useful purpose it is to point out the worthlessness of eye-witness testimony to bibliographers.

Daniel Fish appears to have been aware of the existence of several variants as early as 1906, for in his bibliography he provides us with one of his typical exasperating notes: "Several issues with slight variations in the preliminary matter."[7]

An illuminating catalogue note which goes far to prove that a now forgotten systematic study of the various editions of the book had been made previous to the year 1914, is to be found in the catalogue of the famous Lambert sale. Therein item 789, Part I, is described as "The Sixth Issue" of the *Debates*.[8]

From here on nothing seems to have been published on the subject until 1934, when R. Gerald McMurtry presented a study from which he emerged with the description of six variant issues,[9] as had been indicated in the Lambert catalogue, twenty years before. At least we were holding our own.

The following year Doctor Louis A. Warren presented a superb contribution on the subject. With no pretense at following bibliographical method, Doctor Warren provided simple descriptions which were quite adequate to permit the identification of nine variant issues.[10] Not long afterwards he issued a mimeographed supplement in which thirteen variants were identified in tabular arrangement. Under the stimulus of Doctor Warren's work librarians and collectors, who had previously been quite content with a first edition of the *Debates*, now sought to acquire all known issues. The Warren lists became the *vade mecum* of those collectors.

[7] Daniel Fish, *Lincoln Bibliography*. (New York, Francis D. Tandy Company [c. 1906]), item 586.

[8] *Library of the Late Major William H. Lambert of Philadelphia Part I, Lincolniana First Section*. (New York, The Anderson Galleries, 1914), p. 100.

[9] R. Gerald McMurtry, *The Different Editions of the "Debates of Lincoln and Douglas,"* in: *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1934, XXVII: No. 1.

[10] *Lincoln Lore, No. 337*. (Fort Wayne, Indiana, Lincoln National Life Foundation, September 23, 1935.)

Some time later Mr. A. H. Greenly issued for private circulation a valuable mimeographed compilation, supplementing Doctor Warren's work, and recording for the first time, I believe, some interesting typographical characteristics of the various issues of the book.

Here the matter stood until June, 1943, at which time there was published an article by Jay Monaghan, of the Illinois State Historical Library.[11] Assuring his readers that "for forty years the distinguishing marks of the first printing have been disputed," Mr. Monaghan adds the further startling information that the work had "appeared in ten editions, and thirty-eight separate issues, not counting variants in binding, corrections of damaged type and accidental freaks of assembly." What a bibliographical mare's nest! One, however, into which Mr. Monaghan did not permit himself to become deeply involved, for he contented himself with a description of only the "First edition" and seven subsequent "issues." Of these he records four issues as having appeared prior to Lincoln's nomination, May 18, 1860, and in this he shared the opinion, quite general among Lincolnians, that the printing of the *Debates* had been rushed, that there had been a mad scramble to buy copies, and that several editions had appeared before the nomination.

Not only did Monaghan's article demonstrate a lack of knowledge of bibliographical terminology ("bound in cardboard covers faced with brown cloth," etc.), but it was extremely confusing in other respects, and went far to destroy the results achieved by Doctor Warren. Yet, because he failed to describe his thirty-eight separate issues, it is doubtful if the article would have had a lasting effect. However, in his report of a hitherto unrecorded second issue of the first edition he describes a bibliographical monstrosity which must not be permitted to survive. Impressed by its flowered end-papers Mr. Monaghan records this as the "DeLuxe Issue."

[11] Jay Monaghan, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, in: *Lincoln Herald*. (Harrogate, Tennessee, June, 1943), Vol. XLV.

End-papers being supplied by the bindery this could, of course, be a binder's variant. Not so easily dismissed is the arrangement of the gatherings as reported by him.

In an effort to clarify what follows it should be pointed out here that the first edition was arranged with a folding of four leaves, on which was printed the title-page and other preliminary matter, with the fourth leaf blank; followed by signatures (1) to 17 in eights. As there were 268 pages of text this resulted in leaving 17^{7} and 17^{8} blank. These blank leaves would bother a prudent printer, particularly in view of the fact that he had found it necessary to use that four-leaf fold at the front of the book, yet this uneconomical make-up in the first edition is proof *per se* that the publishers did not anticipate a heavy demand for the book. When it became apparent that the book would enjoy large sales the forms were reshuffled, and from all subsequent editions the first signature of four leaves was eliminated, and the text carried over on to those blank leaves at the end. The new signature arrangement was now simply (1) to 17 in eights, with the title-page appearing on the first page of signature (1). It should also be noted that whereas in the first edition the first page of signature 2 was 17, in the new make-up signature 2 started on page 13.

Now to consider Monaghan's "DeLuxe Issue": He describes it with signature 2 starting on page 13, as in the second and all subsequent editions. The first two leaves of signature (1) are blank, and "a folio of 4 pages stitched in behind" those blank leaves. Checking back on his collation of this freak we find that page (i) of the insert carries the title-page; page (ii), copyright notice, etc.; pages iii to iv, correspondence; page v contents; page vi, blank.

So far he has accounted not for four pages in his insert, but six, and, to add to our confusion, this copyright page carries the accepted point of the first edition. Then too, the arrangement of that insert is identical to that of the four-leaf signature found in the first edition, with the exception that the fourth (blank) leaf is

missing. From here on Mr. Monaghan describes the gathering typical of all issues subsequent to the first edition. He suggests that it may have been an experimental issue, and reports, without locating them, two known copies.

As previously stated, this paper was published in June, 1943. The following December an unsigned article appeared in the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* entitled *First Edition of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates.*[12] Calling attention, in a footnote, to Monaghan's article; which is described as "A comprehensive description of the various issues of the debates," the writer proceeds to make it quite apparent that he has an open mind, at least considerable doubt, as to when the first edition appeared. Again this *rara avis*, the "DeLuxe Issue," pops up and is briefly described. Upon inquiry from the officers of the Association we learn that the author of this article is none other than Monaghan himself, his name having been omitted by the printer. This time he locates two copies of his discovery, one in the Illinois State Historical Library, and the other in the collection of the Lincoln National Life Foundation. Upon inquiry we learn from Doctor Warren that there is no copy in the Lincoln National Life Foundation, and this keen-eyed enthusiast upon the subject of the debates, without saying as much, makes it quite apparent that he had seen no copy there.

Over a period of years Mr. Monaghan was engaged in the compilation of a voluminous bibliography, the quantities of notes taken by him must have been immense, and in these he has no doubt been confused. However, until a second copy is definitely located, the Illinois copy must stand alone, and be considered on its merits. As published the *Debates* was a drab book. The publishers made little attempt at embellishment. Hence the unique flowered end-papers certainly make Monaghan's book suspect. If he will examine it very closely we are quite sure that he will

[12] *The First Edition of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, in: *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*. (Springfield, Illinois, December 1943), II: No. 8, 381-387.

find that the Illinois Historical Library is in possession of a recased copy, made up from the preliminary leaves of the first edition (lacking the blank leaf at the end of the first signature,) and the text of the second edition.

But for one thing Mr. Monaghan's article need not have been discussed at this time, and this the writer would have preferred. However, in his *Lincoln Bibliography*,[13] under the entry covering the *Debates* he refers his readers to the article. Thus, if allowed to stand unchallenged, his unfortunate article would remain to confuse Lincolnians just as long as his bibliography remains in use as a work of reference.

The reading of Mr. Monaghan's article, in 1943, served to stimulate interest in the probable date of the first appearance of the first and subsequent editions. In the years which have followed a thorough search of Ohio newspapers for editorial comments, announcements, or reviews has been made, with completely negative results. Negative results which, we believe, speak loudly against the possibility of the book having appeared much before the nomination.

On March 20, 1860, the publishers advertised in the *Ohio State Journal*, Columbus, Ohio, the *Debates* as "Now published." Bound copies were to sell for 50 cents and stitched at 30 cents. This advertisement itself carried evidence that the book had not been published, for therein it is described as having 288 pages, and, as finally published, it had 268. This type of advertising was standard trade practice at the time. It no doubt served a useful purpose in apprizing the publisher, by the response, of the probable demand. Certainly the house of Follett, Foster and Company were no strangers to it. As I once had occasion to point out elsewhere[14] it was this same concern which announced, on May

[13] Jay Monaghan. *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939*, in: *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Society. (Springfield, Illinois, 1943-1945), XXXI:18.

[14] Ernest J. Wessen, *Campaign Lives of Abraham Lincoln, 1860*, in: *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1937*. (Springfield, Illinois, The Illinois State Historical Society, 1938), p. 189.

19, 1860, a campaign life of Lincoln as "in press," while I was able to present proof that William Dean Howells, its author, did not start writing it until some weeks later. Throughout the months of April and May their advertisement appeared sporadically, and always with the erroneous statement as to the number of pages.

There was no advertisement on May 18, 1860, the day of the nomination. On Saturday, the nineteenth, their advertising efforts were devoted exclusively to the promotion of their projected campaign life of Lincoln, and not until the following Monday do they seem to have awakened to the real possibilities in the *Debates*. Their glib and resourceful advertising man then announced that this book was in its fourth edition. This claim may have been nothing more than trade puffery; on the other hand it may have been made of whole cloth; for the term "edition" was used rather loosely by publishers of the Middle West.

It was the well-established practice of Ohio publishers to have their books delivered in sheets, and bound in small lots, often inserting new title-pages, and extraneous material in each binding, and referring to these lots as "editions." A notable case was that of the McGuffey *Readers*, and a much more interesting instance is that of the Beecher sisters' *Geography for Children*.[15] Here is a book that enjoyed such a limited sale that today only a single copy is known to have survived, and this is a "fifth edition," according to the legend on its title-page, a "fifth edition" which is believed to have been issued within three months after its first appearance. There can be no doubt that this publisher followed a standard practice in referring to each lot bound as a new edition. This is probably what Follett, Foster and Company had in mind when, on May 21, they announced that four editions of the *Debates* had been published. They are known to have farmed their

[15] C. and H. Beecher, *Primary Geography for Children, on an Improved Plan.* (Cincinnati, Corey and Fairbank, 1833.)

binding out to smaller binderies, and there is no doubt that several lots were sent immediately to binders when it became known that Lincoln had been nominated. Following this the book was nationally advertised without stint throughout the campaign.

On June 9, 1860, Douglas wrote the publishers complaining that his speeches had been altered and mutilated. Replying on June 16, 1860, and denying the charge, the publishers wrote: "We certainly had not the least design of doing you any injustice, and are sure a more careful examination of the volume (*published early in March*) would have convinced you that none has been done."[16] The writer of that letter was correct to the extent that the book was offered for sale in March, even though copies were not available. On the other hand the purpose of the statement is quite apparent. It was made for the purpose of demonstrating *laches* on the part of Douglas in making his complaint. The fact that Douglas did not write until June 9 indicates that that is the probable date when the book first came to his attenion.

It is unfortunate that we do not know the definite publication date, the date when the book was first placed in the hands of the public. Since our evidence is presumptive in character it will not be amiss to add another bit to our slender chain.

It is doubtful if there was a more discerning and painstaking political writer in the United States, in 1860, than Murat Halstead, of the *Cincinnati Commercial*. He attended all of the numerous national political conventions in 1860. We may be certain that had the *Debates* been available as a political handbook, before the Chicago convention, Halstead would have known of the fact, and mentioned it. On the contrary, writing from Atlanta, Georgia, on April 18, 1860, he reports: "The Mississippians have the Freeport speech of Douglas with them, and intend to bombard him in the convention with ammunition drawn from

[16] *Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, In the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois.* Fifth state of the Third Edition (Columbus, Follett, Foster and Company, 1860), p. 4, inserted matter.

it."[17] We may assume that the Mississippians had a clipped report of the speech, for it is hardly the language Halstead would have used had the book, printed by his own publishers and containing all of the speeches, been available.

Which leads us to an interesting bit of speculation: Here was a third group vitally interested in the publication of the *Debates*; Douglas' bitter antagonists in the South. Judah P. Benjamin[18] and other Southerners used the *Debates* as the source for attacks upon Douglas. Southern stump-speakers would be among the first to buy the book. Of course, attacks against Douglas were so much grist to the Republican mill. But, as we have already pointed out, the *Debates* provided ample material for use against Lincoln, in the event of his nomination, and, perhaps, his party's platform regardless of whom the nominee might be. One wonders if the Republican hierarchy were anxious to have the book widely distributed before the issues were fairly joined at Chicago.

In the absence of proof to the contrary it would appear that but a few, if any, of the copies of the *Debates* were sold before the nomination. From then on the book enjoyed flash sales, and we entertain no doubt but that subsequent issues appeared in rapid succession, separated, in some instances, by no more than a few days.

This paper would be incomplete without a word about the strange format of the book which was sold as the "cheap edition." The book, just as advertised, was nothing more nor less than "stitched," the signatures being simply bound by a single heavy thread. It has the appearance of a book which is out of binding, and for this reason it is quite probable that dealers and collectors have rejected many copies as worthless. As has been noted, it was advertised from the first, and we have no reason to believe that

[17] M. Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860. A History of the National Political Conventions of the Current Presidential Campaign.* (Columbus, Follett, Foster and Company, 1860), p. 3.

[18] Judah P. Benjamin, *Speech: Defense of the National Democracy against the Attack of Judge Douglas.* (Washington, Printed by Lemuel Towers, 1860.)

all editions and variants were not issued in this format, although no copy of the first edition in this state is known at this time. Of the variants in unbound state the Lincoln National Life Foundation owns six, all of which have been acquired in recent years. Enterprising book-scouts and dealers, now alert for this rarity, will no doubt turn up others.

Appended is an annotated checklist of the variant editions and issues of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

Check List of the Early Editions of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates

First Edition

Political Debates | between | Hon. Abraham Lincoln | and | Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, | In the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois; | including the Preceding Speeches of Each, at Chi- | cago, Springfield, Etc.; Also, the Two Great | Speeches of Mr. Lincoln in Ohio, in 1859, | As | Carefully Prepared by the Reporters of each Party, and Published | at the Times of their Delivery. | (rule) | Columbus: | Follett, Foster and Company. | 1860.

Collation: (i)^4, (1) - 17^8. Pagination: White end-papers; one fly-leaf tipped in; (i), title-page; (ii), copyright notice, and publisher's card without rule at top; (iii) to iv, Correspondence; (v), table of contents; (vi) to (viii), blank; (1) to 268, text; (269) to (272), blank; one fly-leaf; end-paper. (Has been noted with pink, blue, or lemon end-papers.)

Binding: Brown ripple cloth, with a blind-stamped design on covers, consisting of an eight-point star within circles, floriated designs at corners; all within ruled borders. Spine: (Thick-thin rule); Debates | of | Lincoln | and | Douglas. | (rule.)

Note: All subsequent issues have been noted bound in cloths of various textures, of which rippled and pebbled are most commonly found, and in a wide range of colors, including brown, tan, maroon, black, olive green, gray, violet, and, occasionally, red. The period after "Douglas" in the title on the spine does not appear on some copies.

Second Edition

Title-page: Same as above.

Collation: (1) - 17^8. Pagination: End-paper; one fly-leaf; (i), title-page; (ii), copyright notice, Table of Contents, publisher's card under thin rule (in which

state all subsequent editions will be found); (iii) to iv, Correspondence; (1) to 268, text; fly-leaf; end-paper.

Note: A copy in Lincoln National Life Foundation bears the inscription of John A. Colescott, Miami University (Oxford, Ohio), May 22, 1860. In a singular confirmation of this date of circulation there will be found, in the library of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, a copy of this same edition bearing a Miami University inscription, dated "May, 1860," as well as the book-label of a contemporary Oxford, Ohio, bookdealer.

Third Edition

Title-page: Unchanged.

Collation: The same. Pagination: End-paper; one fly-leaf; (i), title-page; (ii), copyright notice, publisher's card under thin rule; (iii), Table of contents; (iv), blank; (1) to 268, text; one fly-leaf; end-paper.

Binding: An interesting and rare binding variant has been noted in this edition. The blind-stamped eight-pointed star in the center of the covers has, in some copies, been replaced by a floriated diamond-shaped design. Examples of this variant are in the William L. Clements Library; Brown University Library; and Lincoln Memorial University Library.

Note: Several copies of this edition, bearing contemporary dated inscriptions have been located, as follows:

William L. Clements Library inscribed: "James Fletcher, Danvers, Mass, 1860."
Lincoln National Life Foundation inscribed: "G. Tobey, May 30, 1860."
Indiana University inscribed: "T. Dent, June 6, 1860."
Lincoln Memorial University inscribed: "Thomas W. Hyde, Bath, June, 1860."

Third Edition (Second State)

Contains a four-page insert at the front: (1), advertisement for Howells' *Life of Lincoln*; (2), Advertisement for Giddings' *Exiles in Florida*; (3), Advertisement for Hosmer's *Adela, the Octoroon*. (At the foot of this page appears a notice to the effect that 15,000 copies of the *Debates* have been sold); (4), Letter from Mr. Lincoln.

Note: A copy in the Lincoln National Life Foundation is inscribed: "Frank Askew, St. Clairsville, Ohio, June 6, 1860. Henry E. Huntington Library owns two inscribed copies: (1), "A. G. Maynes, Elyria, Ohio, July, 1860. (2), "R. L. Beecher, Augt. 2nd, 1860."

Third Edition (Third State)

The four-page insert is present, arranged as follows: (1), Advertisement of Howells' *Life of Lincoln*. (At the foot of this page appears a notice to the effect

that 16,000 copies* of the *Debates* have been sold.); (2), Giddings' *Exiles of Florida*; (3), Wm. T. Coggeshall's *The Poets and Poetry of the West*; (4), Follett, Foster and Company's list of publications, with the lower half of the page devoted to "Letter from Mr. Lincoln."

Binding: The floriated corner-designs have been removed from the covers of this and all subsequent issues with but a few very rare exceptions. Copies of this issue with the corner-designs present are owned by Henry E. Huntington Library; Chicago Historical Society; and Mr. F. Ray Risdon, Los Angeles, California.

Note: The William L. Clements Library owns a copy of this issue inscribed: "Samuel N. Shoup Esq. from A. Lincoln."

Variant Imprints

At this point the publishers began using, in addition to their regular imprint described above, two variant imprints, as follows:

A. COLUMBUS: | FOLLETT, FOSTER AND COMPANY. | BOSTON: BROWN & TAGGARD. NEW YORK: W. A. TOWNSEND & CO. | CHICAGO: S. C. GRIGGS & CO. DETROIT: PUTNAM, SMITH & CO. | 1860.

B. COLUMBUS: | FOLLETT, FOSTER AND COMPANY. | BOSTON: CROSBY NICHOLS, LEE & CO. NEW YORK: M. DOOLADY. | PITTSBURGH HUNT & MINER. CINCINNATI: RICKEY, MALLORY & CO. | 1860.

On May 23 the publishers announced in *The Ohio State Journal* the acquisition of two new "Williamson" presses, and shortly after, the preparation of two sets of stereotypes to meet the demand for the *Debates*. Probably one of each of these new sets of stereotypes was prepared with each of the above imprints on the title-page. Hence no priority may be assigned to copies bearing these variant imprints, as they were probably run off simultaneously with those issued with the regular imprint.

The third state of the third edition appears with imprints variant A, and B, in addition to the regular imprint.

Third Edition (Fourth State)

The four-page insert is present, as in the third state of this edition, and carrying the same matter, with variants of no moment to this checklist, aside from the fact that, at the foot of the Howells advertisement appears a notice to the effect that 24,966 copies** of the *Debates* had been sold.

* On June 8, 1860, the Publishers announced in *The Ohio State Journal* that 16,000 copies of the *Debates* had been sold.

** On June 21 the publishers announced in *The Ohio State Journal* that the sales of the *Debates* had reached 20,416 copies.

The fourth state of the third edition appears only with imprint variants A and B, the use of the original basic imprint having been discontinued in this and subsequent issues. The supposition is that the original plates had perhaps worn badly (as is indicated in the third state) so that their use was discontinued at this time.

Third Edition (Fifth State)

With the important Douglas Correspondence

The four-page insert is present, arranged as follows: (1), Advertisement for William T. Coggeshall's *Poet and Poetry of the West*; (2) to (4) [erroneously numbered 5 by the printer]. Under the caption *To the Public* appears the letter from Douglas objecting to the publication, on the grounds that his speeches have been altered and mutilated; with the ensuing correspondence from the publishers, including a list of corrections.

Note: This is the rarest, and perhaps the most important issue of this book. It appears with imprint variants A and B. In the Lincoln National Life Foundation is a copy inscribed: "Henry Brown, bought of Israel Green, July 28, 1860, Findlay, Ohio." Mr. H. M. Povenmire, Ada, Ohio, owns a copy inscribed: "J. W. Brock, Aug. 11, 1860, N. Lewisburg, Ohio."

A Plea for a More Consistent Policy of Cataloguing by Auction Galleries

By David A. Randall*

THE back page of *The* [London] *Times Literary Supplement* is occasionally devoted to bibliographical matters, collations of books, reports on auction sales, etc. It is a matter of regret, incidentally, that no American literary magazine devotes any considerable space to such concerns. In the issue of July 28, 1945, its correspondent, in reporting the results of the Frank J. Hogan sale of English literature, has some remarks upon the cataloguing of one of the items: "Auctioneers' licence, in the United States at least, is considerable and this description cannot pass at its face value." "Moreover, although the auction catalogue quotes such other portions of the letter as may enhance its attraction in the eyes of a distant buyer, it not only omits part of it vital to the proper estimation of its standing but adds an editorial note to another section quoted from it the effect of which can be no other than the falsification of the whole purport of the letter." "With the effect on the price of the item we have little to do; its prejudicial effect on bibliographical research is another matter; . . . ." For another item: "As the cataloguer dislikes the implication of the word 'second' he retains the 'large paper,'" and so on.

Now I have no comments to make upon the correctness of *The Times* correspondent's particular strictures.[a] What is disquieting to me, however, is the knowledge that, in general, his assertion

* This paper was read at the meeting of the Society 18 January 1946.

[a] An answer to the 28 July article, signed "Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc.," was printed in the same newspaper on 2 March 1946.—Editor.

that "auctioneers' licence, in the United States at least, is considerable" has a large measure of truth. The erratic cataloguing of books of importance by auction houses has been a matter of comment, at least in private conversations, among American collectors, librarians and dealers for quite some time. *The Times* article merely brought the matter into the open.

Generally speaking the various galleries have been lax in their cataloguing, occasionally flatly contradicting in one catalogue what has recently been said in another, quoting as freely from outdated or discredited bibliographies as from reliable ones, frequently neglecting current and up-to-date information, making invalid statements on insufficient evidence, and making no apparent effort to maintain a standardized bibliographical nomenclature. Now this is, or should be, of considerable concern to collectors, librarians and dealers who have a right to expect a higher standard of bibliographical accuracy in descriptions than they have recently been getting. If this seems a rather harsh indictment of our auction houses, I beg indulgence of judgment until the record is partially examined. The record for the purposes of this paper deals largely with auction catalogues issued in 1945, deals chiefly with English and American literature, does not touch upon any bibliographical information which is not a matter of public record, and is concerned chiefly with American sources of information.

Let us consider first the matter of contradictions: In the recent Clemens sale a "large paper" copy of Pope's *The Dunciad* (Dublin Printed, London Reprinted for A. Dodd, 1728) was catalogued as *both* "octavo" and "duodecimo on large paper" and as "First or Second Edition" with the note: "Although Dublin appears in the imprint, the book was printed in London and no Dublin edition was ever printed. *Cf.* Griffith, Nos. 198-199."[1] Three months later the Hogan copy, octavo and also on large paper, im-

[1] Library formed by the late Dr. James B. Clemens. January 8-9, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 361.

mediately became: "The exceedingly rare first issue of the first edition" and in the note was the statement: "The work was published in both London and Dublin in 1728—each edition, for the sake of obscurity, professing to be a reprint of the other. *Cf.* the catalogue of the Rowfant Library, p. 164."[2] There is no need to go into the tangled bibliography of this work, a subject of speculation since 1854, but a reading of the two entries is instructive. The cataloguer states, in the Hogan description: "Dr. Wise refutes Professor Griffith's doubts more or less conclusively and has found general agreement."

In the Bronson Winthrop sale, March, 1945, his copy of Pope's *Essay on Man* (London. [1733]) was catalogued: "Each part is the correct first issue according to Griffith's generally accepted conclusions,"[3] Part I being noted as Griffith 294, Epistle II Griffith 300, Epistle III Griffith 308. Yet when the Hogan copy came up the next month, Part I being Griffith 304, it was catalogued as "considered by many bibliographers the first issue"[4] (though not by Griffith, whose conclusions had been "generally accepted" the previous month in making the Winthrop copy "the correct first issue of each part"). And Epistles II and III, still Griffith 300 and 308, are catalogued with the note, in each case: "Griffith is doubtful;" "Griffith was in doubt."

Or consider the "New York Collector's" copy of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (London, 1791). This is catalogued as ". . . page 135, Vol. I, is in the first state with the reading 'gve' in line 10."[5] Leaving aside the highly dubious bibliographical accuracy of this statement, how did the same Galleries catalogue the other variant the last time they had it? As, logically they should have: "second state"? Not at all. The note to the Clemens copy simply said:

[2] The Frank J. Hogan Library. Part Two. English Literature Mainly of the XVIII and XIX Centuries. April 24-25, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 561.

[3] Rare English and French Literature . . . Collected by the late Bronson Winthrop. March 12-13, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 644.

[4] Hogan. Part Two. *Op.cit.* Items 562-563.

[5] Selections from the Library of a New York Collector. October 15-16, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 94.

"with the word 'give' correctly spelled on page 135, Vol. I."[6] One other example of this type of cataloguing will suffice. In the Newton sale Conrad and Hueffer's *The Inheritors* (London, 1901) is catalogued perfectly correctly as "First English Edition. First Issue before the dedication leaf was added,"[7] etc. But the Hogan copy of the second issue is catalogued simply as "First English Edition. With the dedication leaf pasted in,"[8] etc. No "second issue" is mentioned. Now I do not ask that the words "second issue" be printed in the capital letters that the words "first issue" usually are, but I do think that, even if in lower case, they should be present.

It is quite a feat to reverse oneself within the limits of a single description, but as evidence that it can be done, witness the following: In a mixed sale of November 6, 1944, there was a collection of Latin poems catalogued under the heading, "The First Book Printed at Vilna." The imprint is given as Vilna, 1573, and beneath all this is the note: "It seems that this book was printed in Germany and not in Vilna as printing was not introduced there before 1580."[9]

A delightful, if somewhat extreme, example of befuddlement occurred in the Clemens sale where Gray's *Odes* is catalogued as "Printed at Strawberry-Hill, for R. and J. Dodsley, 1757 . . . . First Edition. Printed on thick paper." A few lines further on is the note: "The most sensational forgery that Mr. Hazen has so far discovered is none other than the thick paper 'Odes' which, although dated 1757, cannot, according to the evidence now discovered have been printed before about 1790."[10]

Again, it would seem hazardous to the average bibliographer to differentiate issues on the strength of a facsimile. But look at

[6] *Op. cit.* Item 90.

[7] Rare Books . . . Collected by the late A. Edward Newton. April 16-18, 1941. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 403.

[8] Hogan. Part Two. *Op. cit.* Item 183.

[9] French Literature, etc. November 6 and 8, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 366.

[10] *Op. cit.* Item 278.

the description of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (London, 1635), with Beamount on the title-page—catalogued as: "Probably the earlier of the two issues which appeared in 1635; the other has Beaumont's name spelled in the usual way,"[11] it being admitted in the description that the first three leaves of the copy described (which include the title-page) were in type facsimile.

This is no place to go into the merits of the "follow the flag" argument in collecting. But let's have a little consistency in whatever decision is taken. If it is decided to catalogue Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York, 1885) as it has recently been consistently catalogued: "First American Edition, issued a few days after the English edition,"[12] one would logically expect in the same catalogue, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (Hartford, 1876), which was issued six months after the English edition, to be catalogued similarly as "First American Edition,"[13] but of course it isn't. There is no need to labor this point of which dozens of examples could be quoted. And, while speaking of *Huckleberry Finn*, admittedly a difficult book bibliographically, the rather startling statement that the "first issue" has the "folio number on page 155 lacking,"[14] advanced recently, does not seem to have met with general acceptance.

There is no consistency either in the use of such terms as "first separate edition," "first collected edition," "issue," "impression," etc. Why is the Boston, 1870 edition of Aldrich's *Story of a Bad Boy* catalogued in the Clemens sale as "First Separate Edition"?[15] Because it had previously appeared serially in *Young Folk's Magazine*? If so then hundreds of other books, for example, *Uncle*

[11] Rare Books from the libraries of George M. LaMonte and Leonard Outhwaite. March 5, 1940. G. A. Baker & Co. Item 17.

[12] The Frank J. Hogan Library. Part One. American Authors. January 23-24, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 89.

[13] Hogan. Part One. *Op. cit.* Item 86.

[14] Rare and Valuable Books (Various Owners). June 8-9, 1944. Samuel T. Freeman & Co. Item 199.

[15] *Op. cit.* Items 13-14.

Tom's Cabin, or *A Farewell to Arms*, should in their book appearances be described as "First Separate Edition," as they had previously appeared in serial publication. But they aren't. In the Clemens sale Coleridge's *Sibylline Leaves* (London, 1817), is "First Edition"[16] while in Sale 517 it is "First Collected Edition."[17] In the Hogan sale, Franklin's *Cato Major* (with corrected spelling "only," page 27, line 5) is "second impression."[18] In the "New York Collector's" sale the same variant is "second issue."[19]

Now there are numerous cases of books with unsolved bibliographical problems where it is perfectly reasonable to state which variant is offered for sale without assigning priority. This is the present custom, at one auction house with, for example, Poe's *Tales*, 1845,[20] Longfellow's *Evangeline*,[21] and Galsworthy's *The Man of Property*.[22] That is all right with me although bibliographical evidence for assigning priority in each case is, I think, crystal clear. But the use of weasel words in many descriptions might be curtailed. "Believed to be" and "apparently in original size," for example. The Clemens copy of Shelley's *Adonais* in the original blue wrappers, uncut, is "apparently in the original size,"[23] and his *Epipsychidion*, "stitched, uncut and unopened" is also "apparently in the original size."[24] I would like to see a book stitched, uncut and unopened which was not in original size.

Worse even are the "believed to be's," coinciding as they do with an apparent assumption that American book auction records began in 1916. Byron's *Fare Thee Well!* in the Clemens sale[25] is a

[16] *Op. cit.* Item 194.
[17] (Various Owners.) June 17, 1944. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 178.
[18] Hogan. Part One. *Op. cit.* Item 192.
[19] *Op. cit.* Item 279.
[20] Hogan. Part One. *Op. cit.* Item 578.
[21] Hogan. Part One. *Op. cit.* Item 391.
[22] New York Collector. *Op. cit.* Item 287.
[23] *Op. cit.* Item 418.
[24] *Op. cit.* Item 419.
[25] *Op. cit.* Item 126.

typical example. The description quotes Wise, who states (among other things) that J. A. Spoor owned the Henry Huth copy. The cataloguer himself admits that Spoor had no copy, let alone Huth's. There is no evidence (other than Wise's word) that Huth ever had one either! This "build-up" suspiciously follows the usual Wise procedure made familiar by Miss Ratchford's *Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn: A Further Inquiry into the Guilt of Certain Nineteenth Century Forgers* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945). It is interesting to note that the astute editor, Colton Storm, of the 1945 edition of *American Book-Prices Current*, has seen fit to enter this item with the note: "Apparently first edition, but see catalogue description." I protest, in this connection, against quoting "Dr." Wise's opinions and prejudices on bibliographical matters of importance. I am convinced that no single statement of Wise's, which stands on his own unsupported word, should be accepted without rigid examination. And I object particularly to information being lifted bodily from his bibliographies without any indication of its source. Dr. Robert M. Smith in his recent *The Shelley Legend* (New York, 1945) agrees, for in speaking of Wise's *Shelley Bibliography*, he states (p. 290): ". . . . neither the bibliographical descriptions nor transcriptions . . . can be relied upon; and the student is hereby warned not to accept any (of Wise's) bibliographical statements without independent checking."

The *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (*vide* Dryden) states: "T. J. Wise's bibliographical statements must be accepted with caution." And Roland Baughman, in addressing the group on bibliographical evidence at the Modern Language Association at Chicago last month (December 27, 1945), warns very clearly that Wise's tampering with genuine books must receive a very great deal of attention from bibliographers before we may comfortably sit back and assume that his operations have been adequately uncovered and dealt with. And it is time, indeed long past time, to begin cataloguing the Wise fabrications, when they

appear, as fabrications and not merely with the innocuous statement: "see Carter and Pollard." Only once, to my knowledge, has a gallery catalogued a book as a Wise forgery and then it was not a forgery. This happened recently when Mrs. Browning's *A Song*, Privately Printed, 1907, is listed as "Apparently one of the 'Wise Forgeries'" and with the statement: "This dubious leaflet is not listed in Carter and Pollard."[26] Why, may I ask, should it be? It is perfectly genuine and one of Wise's almost innumerable printings for private circulation which do not pretend to be other than what they are, perfectly respectable and honest and all properly listed in Partington's *Forging Ahead*, pp. 287, etc.

But back to Byron and *Fare Thee Well!* The description is headed: "We believe this is the first appearance at public sale of this excessively rare leaflet," and in the body of the note is the remark: "We were also unable to find a record of a copy having been sold at auction in consulting the indexes of the American Book-Prices Current back to 1916." Byron's *Poems on Various Occasions* (Newark, 1807) is catalogued: "Apparently only one other copy has appeared at auction in this country—the Augusta Leigh copy, which was first sold in the E. K. Butler sale and later fetched $3,000 in the Jerome Kern sale."[27] And this despite the fact that Spoor[28] had a copy, another was sold in 1935[29] and others in 1911[30] and 1912.[31]

Now what makes 1916 a year of decision in American book-collecting history? Why, if no copy can be located since that date, do some auction houses "believe no copy has ever occurred at auction sale"? *American Book-Prices Current* has turned the half-cen-

[26] (Various Owners.) December 10-11, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 94.

[27] (Various Owners.) April 28, 1944. Wm. D. Morley, Inc. Item 66.

[28] The renowned library of the late John A. Spoor. Part One. April 26-28, 1939. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 124.

[29] The library of the late Ogden Goelet. Part Two. January 24-25, 1935. American Art Association. Item 51.

[30] Library of Judge Jacob Klein. Part One. February 9-10, 1911. Anderson Auction Co. Item 229.

[31] Library of Charles C. Johnston. . . . October 4, 22-23, 1912. Anderson Auction Co. Item 169.

tury mark now. It was born in 1894. Complete runs since then are available without too much effort if one cares to consult them. Why is only the past twenty-eight years of its existence of importance in deciding if, or if not, a book, has, or has not, "appeared before at public sale"? It cannot be that there were no important sales before 1916—that would rule out Chamberlain, Foote, Hoe, and others too numerous to mention. Suppose, for example, a copy of *The Bay Psalm Book* was to be sold now! Would it be catalogued as "Believed to be the first copy to be offered at public sale as no copy is recorded in *American Book-Prices Current* from 1916 to date?" I believe it would. And why? Well, simply because the Brinley sale took place before 1916 and it is only since 1916 that *Indexes* have been compiled for *American Book-Prices Current*. Some of the auction houses believe, apparently, that a rare book's auction record is worth investigating if the trouble of looking it up is confined to searching three volumes of *Indexes* (1916-1922; 1923-1932; 1933-1940). Before 1916 the volumes might as well not have been issued as far as they are concerned.

There is, of course, a compilation in four volumes, edited by Luther S. Livingston, entitled *Auction Prices of Books: Covering Representative Selections of Books from English Book Prices Current in 1886, and American Book Prices Current from 1894 to 1904* (New York, 1905), which many of us find useful. A glance at it would have dispelled (among other illusions) the "belief" that the Clemens copy of Byron's *Fare Thee Well!* was "the first appearance at public sale."

But it is frivolous, I suppose, to ask accuracy over a period of years when it is not achieved over a period of months. For example, in the Meyer sale, an eight-page folio, Indian Treaty, was given a full-page illustration and catalogued under "Washington, George," with the note: "An apparently unrecorded issue of this important Indian Treaty. Research has located no other copy or reference to any copy of it."[32] Six months later, in the Mc-

[32] Historical and Literary Autographs, etc., collected by the late Alfred C. Meyer. Second Part. November 30, December 1, 1943. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 320.

Henry sale by the same gallery, there appeared a different copy of the same treaty, catalogued under "Indian Treaty" (also given a full-page illustration), with the note: "Apparently no copy of this treaty is recorded as having appeared at Public Sale."[33]

Again, in "believed to be's" and "apparently's" consider the Littell copy of Figueroa's *Manifesto* (Monterey, 1835). The description is headed: "Believed to be the only known Perfect Copy," and, again in the body of the note: "Apparently the only Perfect Copy."[34] There follows a census of known copies: "There are five copies known to us . . . ," and enumerated are the following: the copy in the Bancroft Library (lacking wrappers); one in the California State Library (lacking the 'Nota del Impresor and Erata') and the Dunlap copy (with the last leaf in facsimile). That accounts for three of the five. What of the other two? The catalogue note states: ". . . unfortunately we have no information on the Coronel and Lees copies." It was, I submit, an unwarranted assumption on the basis of their own census, for the Galleries to label the Littell copy as they did. There was an assumption without the slightest evidence that the two copies of which no knowledge was admitted were imperfect! This is not sound bibliographical thinking. Furthermore, this description was used in the Americana sale of H. C. Holmes, when this same copy was sold: the same description and the same census and the same statement: "There are five other known copies . . ."[35] Such reprinting of old descriptions when a book comes up for resale not only ignores the fact that physical deterioration in its condition may, quite possibly, have taken place, but takes no account of what subsequent research may have discovered.

The American Art Association used Robert E. Cowan's *A Bibliography of the Spanish Press of California* (printed in 1919) in list-

[33] The James McHenry Papers. Part One. May 3, 1944. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 87.

[34] The Distinguished Collection of Americana formed by C. G. Littell. February 5-6, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 348.

[35] Americana . . . . Property of Mr. H. C. Holmes. January 7-9, 1924. American Art Association. Item 397.

ing the "five other known copies." Twenty-one years later, in reprinting this 1924 description practically verbatim, there was no effort made to check with George L. Harding's *A Census of California Spanish Imprints* (1933) which locates copies at Bancroft (3); California State Library; Coronel Collection, Los Angeles Museum; Templeton Crocker; J. Faunt-Leroy; Mrs. R. B. Henderson; Huntington; Mrs. K. C. Jamieson; The Old Mission, Santa Barbara; and T. W. Streeter—no less than twelve, altogether.

Often (as we have just seen) reasonably fresh and up-to-date bibliographical information is as ignored as are auction records before 1916. It is an old stunt to catalogue a book by mentioning where it cannot be found, rather than where it can, but it is not considered the best bibliographical practice. Consider the recent sale where a Bible with the Ephrata, 1787 imprint, is catalogued as "excessively rare and not in O'Callaghan."[36] There is no mention that it is in Evans, No. 20235. Nor is there any indication that O'Callaghan's *List of Editions of Holy Scripture Printed in America Prior to 1860*, was published in Albany as long ago as 1861. Or, look at an item in the "New York Collector's" sale. It is described with the note (in capitals): "This edition is not recorded by Evans or Hildeburn."[37] Yet it is not mentioned that its whole story is in Sabin, No. 5697.

Then there is the question of the general misuse of *S. T. C.* entries, of which Donald Wing complained in his introduction to his able continuation (New York, 1945). The "New York Collector's" sale lists the third edition of Coke on Littleton, with the note: "not listed in the Short-Title Catalogue."[38] It is listed there: No. 15786, correctly entered under Littleton. The overlooking of this is an error that any of us could make, however, in

[36] (Various Owners. Sale Number 696.) October 22-23, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 59.

[37] *Op. cit.* Item 77.

[38] *Op. cit.* Item 172.

the haste of cataloguing. But too many *S. T. C.* books have come to America since the publication of that volume for any conscientious cataloguer to make a virtue of the fact (without further research) that it may list only one library here as possessing a copy of any particular book. And this is especially true since the publication of W. W. Bishop's most useful *A Checklist of American Copies of S. T. C. Books* (University of Michigan, 1945). A single example will suffice. In the Maclay sale the description of Peacham's *The Complete Gentleman* (London, 1622) is headed: "... only one copy recorded as being in America by the Short-Title Catalogue," and the note reads: "The Huntington copy is the only one reported in America by the Short-Title Catalogue."[39] But that doesn't alter the fact that Pforzheimer has a copy, as well as Yale, Folger, Library of Congress, Newberry, Harvard, Williams and Columbia.

Our best attempt at a magazine for book collectors—*The Colophon*—was the labor of love of a few people who hoped it would prove a useful medium of exchange for bibliographical knowledge. It had some remarkable articles in it. One hears rumors of its revival—may they be true! But, useful as it proved to collectors and others, most auction houses never, apparently, heard of it. At least they took little notice of it. In the conflicting descriptions of Pope's *The Dunciad*, referred to at the beginning of this article, R. H. Griffith's very able paper, *The Dunciad Duodecimo* in: *The Colophon* (Autumn, 1938) was completely ignored. William H. McCarthy, Jr. wrote for it an article (1936) disproving Wise's contention that the first issue of Byron's *The Corsair* ends on page 100, and has the printer's imprint—furthermore he proves that "the true first issue of Byron's *The Corsair*, therefore, is a pamphlet of 108 pages without a printer's imprint on page 100."[40]

[39] Five Centuries of Sport .... Formed by the late Alfred B. Maclay. April 10-11, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 462.

[40] *The First Edition of Byron's 'Corsair'* in: *The Colophon*, New Series, Vol. II, Number 1 (Autumn, 1936).

Yet the Clemens copy was catalogued in 1945 with the heading: "The Rare First Issue" and described as "ending at page 100 . . . printer's imprint on the same leaf."[41]

F. W. Heron can present in the 1936 *Colophon* plain and concrete evidence that there are two separate printings of the title-page of the Appleton, 1866, *Alice*,[42] yet the description of the last American *Alice* sold at auction makes no reference to his findings.[43] George T. Goodspeed can do a beautiful bibliographical job in the same magazine in 1939 on the *First American 'Queen Mab,'*[44] documenting the whole story. He not only proved that the New York, J. Baldwin, 1821 imprint is not *bona fide* but showed where, when, why and by whom the book was produced, and established the true first American edition as New York, 1831. Yet we find the Newton copy of the 1831 edition catalogued as "Second American edition,"[45] and we find a copy of the New York, 1821 edition catalogued last year with a reference to the Goodspeed article, as: "Apparently the first (unauthorized) edition,"[46] which is what it isn't.

The learned cataloguer of the renowned Pforzheimer library[47] there concludes (to give just one example) that of Ben Jonson's *Workes*, 1616: "the engraved title is known in three states. There is little evidence for assigning any particular order to them but the following seems probable. The variations all occur in the imprint.

[A] In what may be the earliest it reads: London | Printed by | W. | Stansby and are | to be sould by | Rich. Meighen | Anº D 1616.

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[41] *Op. cit.* Item 115.

[42] *Op. cit.* New Series, Vol. I. Number 3. (Winter, 1936.)

[43] Hogan. Part Two. *Op. cit.* Item 157.

[44] *Op. cit.* New Graphic Series. Number 1.

[45] *Op. cit.* Item 253.

[46] (Various Owners. Sale Number 643.) March 5-6, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 588.

[47] The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. English Literature 1475-1700. (New York, Privately Printed, 1940.) 3 volumes. Item 559.

[B] In what appears to be a later state it reads: London | Printed by William | Stansby | An° D 1616.

[C] The third (?) state which is found in all recorded large-paper copies as well as in some small-paper, reads: Imprinted at | London by | Will Stansby. | An° D 1616 | "

Yet in the Gribbel sale, the 1616 edition of the *Workes* of Ben Jonson is catalogued with the categorical statement: "First issue with the imprint of 'Will Stansby.' In the second issue the name is spelled 'William Stansby' and in the third the name of R. Meighen is added."[48] Truly the first shall be last and the last shall be first. It is curious, incidentally, that several of our auction houses have never, to my knowledge, referred to this great Pforzheimer catalogue when dealing with books of the period. Let us hope that some attention will be paid to it when it comes time to catalogue the splendid third part of the late Frank J. Hogan's library—the Elizabethans!*

William Merritt Sale's excellent *Bibliography of Samuel Richardson* (New Haven, 1936) points out several variants in *Clarissa* (1748) and *Sir Charles Grandison* (1754), yet these titles were recently catalogued[49] without any reference to his findings.

John Carter can point out (as long ago as 1936) the highly important fact that the second edition of Mrs. Browning's *Poems* in two volumes (London, Chapman and Hall, 1850)—a book of considerable interest for it contains, among other new matter, the first printing of *Sonnets from the Portuguese,* and as such now takes its place in the "Grolier Hundred"—is found with two different title-pages and three different bindings.[50] Yet not once has any reference to his findings been made and, as a result, not one of the

[48] Autograph Letters, Manuscripts and Rare Books collected by the late John Gribbel. Part Four. (May 7-8, 1945.) Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 292.

* The sale catalogue of the third part of the Frank J. Hogan library, Parke-Bernet Galleries, April 23-24, 1946, made copious use of the Pforzheimer Catalogue.—Editor.

[49] City Book Auction Sale. Number 322. November 3, 1945. Items 289-290.

[50] *The* [London] *Times Literary Supplement* (May 30, 1936).

ten copies sold by American auction houses since his discovery has been correctly described.

Harris F. Fletcher's monumental work on Milton[51] cannot have caught the eye of auction houses, else the Pershing copy of Milton's *Poems* (London, 1673) would scarcely have been catalogued as "Lacks portrait,"[52] when Fletcher shows it is practically certain that it was never issued with one, while at the same time the important matter of the variant imprints is not even mentioned.

It is discouraging, also, to note that when a really distinguished collection of Goethe[53] appears at auction sale in America (to be sold January 21-22, 1946) it is catalogued without the slightest reference to the magnificent Yale University catalogue of the *Speck Collection of Goetheana: Goethe's Works with the Exception of Faust* (New Haven, 1940). Its use would have answered all of the queries on signatures and would have avoided designating an octavo as a duodecimo, which occurs some twenty-five times.

But then too, its use would have avoided the following most unusual and wholly delightful (and completely erroneous) description of Goethe's *West-oestlicher Divan* (Stuttgart, 1819):[54] "Most . . . copies have the pages 7-10 cut out, which were replaced by a piece of *cardboard*." (!) The Yale catalogue, in describing its copies, states: "First edition, pp. 7-10 are in both the cancelled (Sig. 1_{4-5}) and the canceling (Sig. 35_{3-6}) form . . . . Variant: the cancelled form of pp. 7-10 is missing, and the canceling form has been inserted in its place." The French and Germans have a single word for this—*carton*. One must pursue this word far enough in a good dictionary to get beyond "cardboard,"

[51] John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photograph Facsimile. . . . Vol. I. (The University of Illinois Press, 1943.)

[52] The Distinguished Library of James H. Pershing. November 26-27, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 209.

[53] Standard Sets . . . German Classic Literature . . . Collected by the late C. W. Chappell. January 21-22, 1946. Parke-Bernet Galleries.

[54] *Op. cit.* Item 206.

to discover that it also means "cancel." The use of the Yale catalogue would also have prevented other errors.

In the *Southwest Review* and later in her *Letters of Wise to Wrenn*,[55] Miss Fannie E. Ratchford pointed out the fact that Tennyson's so-called *Idylls of the Hearth* "is a fraud—a mere first edition of *Enoch Arden* with a forged title-page." Yet the Pershing copy of *Idylls of the Hearth* was catalogued as "First Edition. One of a small number issued before the title-page was changed to Enoch Arden, etc. . . . ."[56] And Ronald Baughman's[57] researches in regard to Matthew Arnold's *Alaric at Rome* made it clear that when the type-facsimile reprint was made in 1893 from the first discovered copy of this rare piece, under Wise's supervision and editorship, a number of extra copies were struck off without the prefatory matter and passed off as originals. Two copies of *Alaric at Rome* came up at auction last year[58] and in the description of neither of them were Mr. Baughman's findings mentioned.

But lest we think ourselves a trifle better regarded than *The Colophon*, the Pforzheimer library catalogue, the auction houses' own catalogues, most recent bibliographies, etc., may I point out that the auction houses pay no more attention to the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. I know of no reason to assume they will make an exception of the present case. John Alden can point out the fact that the Mein (Boston) edition of the *Vicar* was, like that of the *Sentimental Journey*, the earliest to appear in America: "Published in 1767, it antedates the 1772 Philadelphia edition which has commonly been considered the first. As such, a copy of the Philadelphia edition was offered for sale in the recent auction of the library of A. Edward Newton."[59] But the Philadelphia editions of both the *Vicar* and *Sentimental Journey* are still

[55] New York, Knopf, 1944.

[56] *Op. cit.* Item 300.

[57] Huntington Library Bulletin. Number 9. (April, 1936.)

[58] Hogan. Part Two. *Op. cit.* Item 1. Clemens. *Op. cit.* Item 57.

[59] *John Mein . . . Detection*, in: Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers*, Vol. XXXVI (Third Quarter, 1942).

being offered as "First American Editions."[60] And this is from no dislike of Boston, for Marshall W. S. Swan, in discussing the bibliographical problems of the Boston editions of Shakespeare's *Poems*,[61] demonstrates that the 1807 Boston editions were preceded by the Philadelphia edition of 1796 but the auction houses still catalogue Boston, 1807 as "first American edition."[62] Frank Willson in *That 'Gilded Age' Again: An Attempt to Unmuddle the Mystery of the Fifty-seven Variants*,[63] thoroughly demolished the accuracy of the old standard description of "First Issue with the rare 1873 title-page and without the illustration called for at page 403," but no attention is paid to him.[64]

Again, in 1942, Paul Angle[65] disclosed to the Society the vastly important fact that the Baker & Godwin, New York, 1863 edition was not the first appearance in print (aside from newspaper publication) of Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*, yet the only copy sold at auction since then ignored his findings.[66]

It will be instructive to see how long it will be before Philo Calhoun's and Howell Heaney's recent excellent study of Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*[67] will be consulted.

When, occasionally, fresh bibliographical information is mentioned, it is not always used consistently, nor in some cases accurately. For example, in the notes to the Hogan copy of *Lyrical Ballads* (Bristol, 1798) it is conceded that leaf G (pp. 97-98)

[60] Hogan. Part Two. *Op. cit.* Items 332 and 682.

[61] *Shakespeare's "Poems." The First Three Boston Editions*, in: Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers*, Vol. XXXVI (First Quarter, 1942).

[62] Pershing. *Op. cit.* Item 264.

[63] Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers*, Vol. XXXVII (Second Quarter, 1943).

[64] (Various Owners.) Sale Number 107. January 25, 1945. Swann Auction Galleries. Item 268.

[65] *Four Lincoln Firsts*, in: Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers*, Vol. XXXVI (First Quarter, 1942).

[66] Lincolniana. Sale Number 121. June 7, 1945. Swann Auction Galleries. Item 245.

[67] *Dickens' "Christmas Carol" After a Hundred Years: A Study in Bibliographical Evidence*, in: Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers*, Vol. XXXIX (Fourth Quarter, 1945).

exists in only one state, quoting such authorities as Whicher in *The Colophon,* New Series, Vol. 2, p. 370; Partington in *Forging Ahead* (New York, 1939), p. 39; and Edwin Wells in *The Times Literary Supplement,* January 17, 1942, admitting that "the supposed cancel leaf noted by Dr. Wise has been accepted as a forgery."[68] Yet all this is forgotten in the cataloguing by the same gallery of the more recent Pershing copy of the London issue, where the statement (previously discredited in the Hogan description) is flatly made: "First state of this issue with the leaf G (p. 97-98) in the First State . . . in the cancelled leaf this was changed,"[69] etc. Again, in cataloguing the Pershing copy of *The Faerie Queene* (London, 1590), Francis R. Johnson's plain statement of fact is distorted. The Pershing copy is noted as having, among other things: "the sonnets at the end in both states, occupying leaves Pp-Pp_8 and the four unpaged leaves Qq-Qq_4 . . . the variations among copies in these respects are no longer considered indications of earlier or later issues. *Cf.* Francis R. Johnson's *A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser* . . . (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 11-18."[70] Now here are Johnson's conclusions as to the bibliographical status of *The Faerie Queene,* 1590, as I read them. He explicitly maintains, in the pages quoted, that, as to these sonnets, we do have a legitimate differentiation. He says (p. 15): "There were two issues of these sonnets printed . . . It is only with reference to these sonnets that we have any sound basis for distinguishing two issues of the first edition of the *Faerie Queene.*", and "Copies containing the first issue only end with [Pp_8]."

Finally, there should be, I think, much closer liaison between auction houses and the compilers of *American Book-Prices Current.* The editor of that useful work gets a catalogue from an auction house and later a list of prices at which the various items sold. He does not get, I am informed, and has no way of finding out, what

[68] Hogan. Part Two. *Op. cit.* Item 795.

[69] *Op. cit.* Item 350.

[70] *Op. cit.* Item 282.

books or manuscripts are occasionally returned after a sale for any of a variety of reasons. As a result these "wrong" items become duly canonized in *American Book-Prices Current* and are thus given an air of false respectability. It would be most useful if a list of "returns" were supplied to the editor so that these items might be eliminated from the yearly volumes.

As it is now, it is only when an item which has been returned is eventually re-catalogued with a corrected description, that it becomes a matter of record. For example, in Part 3 of the Gribbel sale, an autograph manuscript of Jonathan Swift appeared.[71] After the sale it was returned and made another appearance in Sale 707 as "a contemporary manuscript in an unknown hand,"[72] with the complete story.

Here the record is clear for all to read. But, to give just one example, what about the Hogan copy of Holmes' *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* in the so-called five-star binding?[73] Following the sale this was returned as defective. It is of slight concern that this is entered in *American Book-Prices Current* from the point of view of price, but its entry from the viewpoint of a census of known copies in this rare binding is another matter. In cataloguing this item the galleries, of course, completely neglected Currier's article and census in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*.[74] And it was entirely fortuitous, and not due to information supplied by the galleries, that Andre's *The Cow Chase* is entered in *American Book-Prices Current* correctly as a "contemporary transcript" and not as an "Autograph Manuscript, signed," as it was catalogued in the Drexel sale.[75]

As evidence of the fact that it is not completely unknown for

[71] Autograph Letters, Manuscripts and Rare Books Collected by the late John Gribbel. Part Three. April 16-17, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 345.

[72] (Various Owners. Sale 707, misnumbered 711.) November 19-20, 1945. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 515.

[73] Hogan. Part One. *Op. cit.* Item 285.

[74] Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3, 1944.

[75] Literary and Historical Autograph Manuscripts. . . . Property of the Drexel Institute of Technology. October 17-18, 1944. Parke-Bernet Galleries. Item 7.

corrections to be made in *American Book-Prices Current* even after the yearly volume has been printed, there is Button Gwinnett's *Bible*, the Spencer-Parker-Diard copy, sold on March 9, 1926, entered in *American Book-Prices Current* for that year (p. 53), price $10,000. Over this entry in all copies are stamped three red rules, above which are the words in red, "no sale." Incidentally, when this book made its reappearance in Part 4 of the Gribbel sale its previous auction record was not mentioned.[76] Colton Storm saw fit to enter this in the 1945 *American Book-Prices Current* with a reference to its 1926 record.

I would like to make clear, finally, that this plea for a more consistent policy of cataloguing by auction houses is addressed to all American auction galleries handling books. The record of all of them leaves something to be desired, in my opinion, and the sales of one of them have been drawn upon as examples more frequently than others merely because, through its pre-eminence in its field, it has therefore handled a much larger volume of American and English literature, with which I am chiefly concerned in this paper.

A very large volume of books handled by auction in America is correctly and properly described, though, I may add, there is very little that requires more than a simple physical description of perhaps ninety per cent of them. I know perfectly well, from sad and sometimes bitter experience, that complete accuracy in bibliographical descriptions is unobtainable by any cataloguer, bibliographer, dealer or even librarian, for that matter. But I feel most strongly that more attention to standardizing nomenclature, fewer inconsistencies in cataloguing, less use of pretentious claims which even moderate research demolishes, less verbatim reprinting of old descriptions, a closer relationship with the compiler of *American Book-Prices Current*, and a much greater use of the tools constantly produced by modern bibliographical research is certainly to be desired.

[76] *Op. cit.* Item 225.

Richard Hildreth's Minor Works

By Louis S. Friedland

ATTENTIVE readers of *The Education of Henry Adams* will recall the mention of "Mr. Hildreth's standard history." This six-volume work covering the American annals from the period of the discovery to the year 1821 is its contriver's chief but by no means sole claim to our attention. Author of the first American anti-slavery novel, *The Slave; or Memoirs of Archy Moore* (Boston, John H. Eastburn, 1836), to which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* itself was not without obligation; translator from Etienne Dumont's French of Jeremy Bentham's *Theory of Legislation*; editor and journalist whose powerful and sometimes mordant pen was dreaded by his political foes, respected and employed by Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana, and invoked in the national cause by Henry Adams[1] when the shadow of war between the states loomed dark and threatening on the horizon; writer of a book on Japan and the Japanese to which authorities still refer as sound and packed with trustworthy information; publicist, reformer, and valiant champion of the great causes of his day, Richard Hildreth (1807-1865) was a personage very much in the mind of his contemporaries. That he and his works now repose in the vale of oblivion is symptomatic not of his slim deserts but of our slothful refusal to entertain the entirety of the American literary and intellectual heritage.

The record of Hildreth's novel, first issued anonymously at the author's expense—no publisher in Boston or New York dared

[1] See the letters to his brother Charles Francis Adams, Jr., December 22 and 26, 1860, in: *Letters of Henry Adams (1858-1891)*. (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1930), pp. 65 and 73.

attach his imprint to a work charged so frankly with political and emotional dynamite—is really impressive. Its importance was immediately recognized, especially among the abolitionists' folds. Lydia Maria Child greeted it heartily in a letter addressed to "Dear Brother Garrison," which the *Liberator*[2] hastened to make public; in Cambridge a Harvard undergraduate, Edward Everett Hale, was sufficiently moved by *Archy Moore,* as the book was generally called, to make it the topic of a college theme;[3] and in a small town of far-away Ohio a young lad, William Dean Howells, pored over the strange pages that left upon him "an indelible impression of its author's imaginative verity . . . . The impression is so deep that after the lapse of nearly forty years since I saw the book, I have no misgiving in speaking of it as a powerful piece of realism."[4] It seems inconceivable that Miss Harriet Beecher, not unacquainted with anti-slavery affairs and personages, should not have read *Archy Moore* and stored some of its scenes in her memory.

At one stroke Hildreth had won the palm of popular success which was to elude his fellow-historian, John Lothrop Motley, despite two ventures in the art of fiction. *Archy Moore* appeared in a number of editions both at home and in England. But it was destined to enjoy a second and even longer lease on life. In 1852, when the phenomenal career of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* commenced, Hildreth was encouraged to finish a long-contemplated sequel to his novel. With the title *The White Slave; or Memoirs of a Fugitive* (Boston, Tappan & Whittemore), the larger work was launched that year and its reception in America was comparable to that of the amazing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* itself. A number of editions were called for. Contemporary reports from England showed that in the first laps of the race the two American novels were running

[2] May 18, 1837.

[3] E. E. Hale, *Memoirs of a Hundred Years* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1902), II: 66-68.

[4] *Literary Friends and Acquaintances* (New York, Harper and Bros., 1902), p. 97.

neck and neck, and if the *White Slave* was soon outstripped by its rival it did hold to second place against a string of other contenders. The last British edition was published in London by William Scott in 1890. France provided five different translations, the latest going through six printings between the years 1858 and 1882. In Italian four editions are recorded, not counting a separate printing of a French version. Of German translations of *The White Slave* I have noted three in five different editions.

About the novel itself I shall take time to say merely that it is based on some first-hand observation of Southern plantation life and slavery conditions, for, constrained by ill health, Hildreth spent about two years in the South, his longest period of residence being in Florida. The novel does not have the emotional appeal and the religious "uplift" of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Hildreth possessed few of the arts and graces, the canny tricks and deft devices, of the born story-teller or the professional novelist. Yet he had read his Defoe to good advantage. An outspoken humanitarian happily free from sentimentalist cant, an old-style Federalist by instinct, a "radical" Whig by fair preference, honest and straightforward in nature and character, uncompromising in adherence to his principles, a lawyer and close student accustomed to weighing the facts and the evidence, he had a tale to tell, a message to convey, a humane cause to preach, and these ends he accomplished in his novel, clearly and competently and according to his moral and artistic lights. To the last he was jealous of his position as the first American author of an anti-slavery novel.

Slavery ceases but history remains. It is as a historian that Hildreth will be remembered. He wrote the historian's *History of the United States of America*—six editions of the complete work were published by the Harper Brothers as well as a number more of the separate parts—caviar to the general, perhaps, because so tightly packed with a cargo gathered by thorough and untiring research. The first three volumes held my attention to the end,

and if the marking of many a passage memorable both for content and style, by one who dares hope that he has learned to discriminate, be an indication of a book's worth, then this first series ought not to be ignored. The second series seemed to me somewhat labored and less inspired, as though the author had worked under severe mental and physical handicaps. Every now and then I come upon an ungrudging tribute to the *History* by someone whose opinion counts in these matters. "If I had to dispense with all the older books of American history that could be got on without," declares Mr. William MacDonald, "I would let most of them go, with only moderate grief and tears, save three: Richard Hildreth for the as yet unrivalled comprehensiveness and accuracy of his information . . . ."[5] Moses C. Tyler and Justin Winsor complete the enviable group. It was while reading Hildreth's work that James Ford Rhodes was inspired to embark on his own *History of the United States*.[6] "The author of one of the sincerest if not the truest histories of the United States according to the testimony both of his liking and his misliking critics," writes William Dean Howells.[7]

If one of "the misliking critics," Dr. Henry S. Commager, harshly asserts: "What could one say about Hildreth, it was like criticizing the Almanac,"[8] another great historian, Edward Channing, speaks of even the second series of the *History* as remaining "to this day the most satisfactory account of the administrations of Washington and John Adams, although written three quarters of a century ago."[9] One cannot deny that Hildreth's historical

[5] *Some Bibliographical Desiderata in American History*, in: American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings* (Worcester, 1911), n.s. XXI: 267.

[6] "One evening in 1877, while reading Hildreth's 'History of the United States,' I laid down my book and said to myself, why should I not write a History of the United States."—M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *J. F. Rhodes, American Historian* (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1929), p. 26.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

[8] *Theodore Parker* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., 1936), p. 135.

[9] *A History of the United States* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926), IV: 28.

pages bear the aspect of a sober annual, the margins funereally marked with the milestones of dates. It is a pity that filial devotion led him to adopt this almanac device used by his father, the Reverend Hosea Hildreth, who produced two or three rather good histories of the nation for the youthful readers.

From the pen of Nathaniel Hawthorne we get an unforgettable portrait of Hildreth hard at work on his *History* in the Boston Athenaeum. "The library is in a noble hall, and looks splendidly with its vista of alcoves. The most remarkable sight, however, was Mr. Hildreth, writing his history of the United States; he sits at a table, at the entrance of one of the alcoves, with his books and papers before him; as quiet and absorbed as he could be in the loneliest study; now consulting an authority, now penning a sentence or a paragraph, without seeming conscious of anything but his subject. It is very curious, thus to have a glimpse of a book in process of creation under one's eye. I know not how many hours he sits there; but while I saw him, he was a pattern of diligence and unwandering thought; he had taken himself out of this age, and put himself, I suppose, into that which he was writing about. Being deaf, he finds it much easier thus to abstract himself. He is a thin, middle-aged man in black, with an intelligent face, rather sensible than scholarlike."[10]

Many a long year the man stuck to his great task, despite the troubles and distractions that came to interrupt. They were not a few. There was the daily bread to earn for a growing family, and the one means possible to him was by the pen, with its unremitting toil and lean fare as recompense. The amount of work he accomplished is in the circumstances staggering, what with the editing of newspapers, the production of daily and weekly columns for various periodicals and of articles for encyclopaedias, the issuing of several large volumes of compilations and of pamphlets on the

[10] *American Notebooks*, Editor, Randall Stewart (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932), p. 246.

social, political, religious and economic problems of the time. Two great causes above all claimed more than the fag-end of his devotion: anti-slavery propaganda and the advocacy of Temperance. Not a little disheartening was the sad state of his health; once more it banished him to a warmer clime, this time to British Guiana, where at Georgetown and Demerara he edited newspapers and compiled a bulky tome, *Local Guide to British Guiana* (Demerary, Baum and Dallas, 1843). "All of it a record of mere hackwork," the scoffers will say, unaware, perhaps, that every one of Hildreth's writings, even the fugitive ephemeral pieces, was the outcome of careful and scrupulous study and meditation, couched in language sober and seldom adorned, frosty as New England winter nights but oft-times lit with the glints of color that linger in the skies at sunrise and sunset. His critics found it easy to start an attack but they were soon at a loss for sound matter to pit against Hildreth's solid array of facts and clear, closely reasoned arguments.

Nor should we forget Hildreth's more substantial works besides *Archy Moore* and the *History*: the book on *Japan As It Was and Is*;[11] the great redaction of Jeremy Bentham's *Theory of Legislation*[12] of which its latest editor, C. K. Ogden, says, "The present [Hildreth's] translation has so long been a classic that it has become almost an integral part of the Benthamic canon";[13] and the other longer works briefly referred to in my Bibliography. For

[11] Boston, Phillips, Sampson & Company; New York, J. C. Derby, 1855; third thousand the same year; another edition, 1856. Revised and corrected by the Author, as: *Japan and the Japanese* (Boston, Bradley, Dayton, & Co., 1860); also, 1861 (an added chapter). Reissued in two small limited editions, 1902, 1903, Tokyo, Japan, editor, K. Murakawa. Edited by Ernest W. Clement, Introduction by William Elliot Griffis (Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Co., 1906), 2 volumes.

[12] Boston, 1840; announced as "in press" in an Advertisement on the pink-paper back cover of Hildreth's *A Letter to Emory Washburn* . . . (Boston, Weeks, Jordan & Co., 1840). Another edition, Boston, 1864.

[13] New York, Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1931, p. i. The indefatigable John Neal preceded Hildreth in a version of this work by Bentham (Boston, Wells and Lilly, 1830). Aaron Burr's daughter, Theodosia, entertained the project but never carried it out.

many years Hildreth cherished a grand scheme not unworthy of a Herbert Spencer or an Auguste Comte, of developing "a system of the philosophy of human nature to be included in eight Treatises."[14] Of these he lived to write only two: *The Theory of Morals*[15] *and The Theory of Politics.*[16] I do not doubt that if the other pillars of the ambitious structure had been completed we should have had a valuable contribution to American speculation in the fields of aesthetics, political economy, psychology, education, and the theory and practical application of the law.

The coming of the Civil War found Hildreth tormented by physical disability and financial distress. He was too proud to beg for help, but his wife made the situation known to a few men prominent in political life, Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, Edward E. Hale (who enlisted the aid of Edward Everett), Charles A. Dana, and Charles Sumner to whom Mrs. Hildreth recalled her husband's services in the formation of the new Republican party. Lincoln was persuaded to bestow upon Hildreth the post of American consul at Trieste. There the writer's last years were spent, happy years all told, with non-exacting official duties, occasional letters to his diplomatic chief John Lothrop Motley in Vienna, and to his patron Charles Sumner, leisure for reading and meditation and for an occasional article dispatched to the New York *Times.* William Dean Howells

[14] In a letter (preserved in the Boston Public Library) to Miss Caroline Weston sent from Georgetown, Demerara, and dated January 8, 1841. See also the "Advertisement" preceding the text of his *Theory of Morals* (Boston, C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1844). The "Advertisement" (signed R. H.) to the *Theory of Politics* (New York, Harper and Bros., 1853) informs us that "The *Theory of Wealth* referred to in it, and forming a necessary part of the design, was written at the same time. Should a demand for it be indicated by the reception of the present volume, it will speedily be forthcoming."

[15] Ralph Waldo Emerson refers to this work as "Hildreth's *Ethics.*" The full title is *Theory of Morals; an Inquiry concerning the Law of Moral Distinctions and the Variations and Contradictions of Ethical Codes.*

[16] *Theory of Politics: an Inquiry into the Foundations of Governments, and the Causes and Progress of Political Revolutions* (New York, Harper and Bros., 1853, 1854, 1856). Apparently written in 1842. For sale by Harper and Brothers, New York, 1876, according to the *American Catalogue* for that year.

visited the Hildreths in Trieste. What more fitting than that the early admirer of *Archy Moore* should leave for posterity a memorable picture of Richard Hildreth in his last days? "He was a tall, thin man, absent, silent: already a phantom of himself, but with a scholarly serenity and dignity amidst the ruins, when the worst came . . . . I remember him always reading, reading. He could with difficulty be roused from his book by some strenuous appeal from his family to his duty as a host. The last night he sat with *Paradise Lost* in his hands, and nothing could win him from it till he had finished it. Then he rose to go to bed. Would not he bid his parting guest good-bye? The idea of farewell perhaps dimly penetrated to him. He responded without looking round,

> 'They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
> Through Eden took their solitary way,'

and so left the room."[17]

Hildreth died in Florence, Italy, July 11, 1865. (The tombstone, erected by his publishers, Harper Brothers, gives the date July 10—see the photograph as reproduced in the second volume of the *Hildreth Family Association Publications*, 1922, facing p. 15.)

A few words about Hildreth Bibliography. The least unsatisfactory and, however incomplete, the only one deserving of the name is in Sabin. Nothing else exists except two or three lists of bare titles gathered at haphazard.[18] For the magazine publica-

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

[18] Two lists in the Harvard College Archives, a very brief one prepared by Hildreth's Class of 1826; another, much more satisfactory, by William H. Tillinghast. In a paper on *Richard Hildreth, the Historian*, in: The Hildreth Family Association Publications (Boston? The Hildreth Family Association, 1922), II: 11-18, Mr. John Lyman Porter marshals a formidable array of titles, several of them of works erroneously attributed to Hildreth and all of them without a word about the sources or his authority for their admission to the Hildreth canon. For most of this vast assemblage of items, covering every subject under the heavens, I find no confirmation elsewhere, and Mr. Porter is too far advanced in years to give the particulars about them. The first part of his paper, a chronological list of Hildreth's major writings and of the magazines and newspapers to which he contributed is of great value, a few errors notwithstanding. I discover, however, that Mr. Porter had consulted Richard Hildreth's holograph *Notebook of Literary Memoranda*, which, in addition to list-

tions and the poems described in the following pages I have relied in the main on entries made in two small notebooks by Hildreth's son, Arthur. In every case I checked, verified, and completed the entries before admitting them. About the manuscript *Notebooks* I am permitted to say only that they are owned by Richard Hildreth's granddaughter and are ultimately to go to a university library for preservation.

A bibliography limited to Hildreth's shorter writings is nicely representative of his prolific output and his many-sided interests. It has the advantage, besides, of dealing with materials not generally known and not accessible outside a few collections. Most of Hildreth's books are to be had at the large libraries. Printings of over 150 pages are excluded from this Bibliography. Neither the entries in the manuscript *Notebooks* nor those recorded here pretend to cover all of Hildreth's longer and more important articles contributed to periodicals. For example, in addition to some other writings I have not traced as yet the first appearances of these *Controversial Pieces* (so named in one of the *Notebooks*): *On Kneeland's Trial, Letter to Mr. Webster, Affair with Judge Thacher, Municipal Election, Sketch of the History of the Temperance Party.* Information about these will be very welcome. I find no record of separate publication of any of them.

Some of Hildreth's tracts appeared initially in newspapers either as articles or as "Extras," that is, supplements. To arrange for separate publication of a magazine or newspaper article was a simple matter to the Editor and part Proprietor of the *Boston Atlas* and the *Boston Spy.* It was a device commonly employed by the serial publications. The printer already had the type set in which Hildreth had given expression to his convictions on a va-

ing the published works, contains the titles for a large number of projected writings never completed. This explains numerous entries in Mr. Porter's bibliography. Through the kindness of Mr. Donald E. Emerson, I have examined this *Notebook* which he is using as one of his sources in a biographical study of Hildreth. Emerson's study is to be published as a Johns Hopkins University Dissertation in History. It will be of the first importance to students of Hildreth and his times.

riety of burning topics of the time. He lived in a pamphleteering age, when every reformer took pen in hand and dashed off to the printshop before the ink was dry on the sheets, and when every orator and preacher sought immortality for his sermon of last Sunday, his Fourth of July Address, or his Commencement Discourse.

Periodicals established for the promotion of a Cause did not hesitate to borrow and reprint in whole or in part appropriate material that appeared elsewhere, thus assuring a wider currency for meritorious polemics, Letters to the Editor, editorials, etc. The *Liberator*, for example, offers a generous selection of ephemeral pieces of this sort; in turn it was itself levied upon by newspapers not only in New England and the Middle Atlantic States but as far west as Ohio and Kansas. An easy reciprocity of exchange seems to have prevailed, without hampering restrictions save the generally recognized obligation to acknowledge the source of the borrowing: "From the . . . ." It is possible, therefore, to track down more than one reprinting of some of Hildreth's fugitive writings. Unfortunately the periodicals seldom bothered to give the date of the original printing, a negligence which often proves trying to the curious.

The mortality of copies of pamphlets is exceedingly high. The "shorn lambs" of printing, they disappear, not necessarily owing to lack of intrinsic quality and worth. We must not forget that in every period of political turbulence, social reform, and intellectual upheaval pamphlets are a medium for the broadcasting of ideas, opinions, and propaganda. In Hildreth's day, too, they were a weapon, small but powerful, and they had to be planned, constructed, and polished with the same care that the author bestowed upon his more pretentious works. Hence the shorter writings of a publicist as earnest and conscientious as Hildreth ought not to be sentenced to death like maybugs with the end of the day. They are "fugitive" only because Causes change or are fulfilled

and because the loosely stitched sheets do not have the physical stamina making for survival.

Present conditions prevented a personal examination of the copies of pamphlets contained in libraries at a distance from New York City. For these I relied on the data kindly sent me by Librarians, to whom I express my cordial thanks. Additions to the finding-lists and corrections of the entries will be very much appreciated.

Key To The Abbreviations Used In The Check List

AAS	American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, Mass.)
A-HTSL	Andover-Harvard Theological Seminary Library (Cambridge, Mass.)
BA	Boston Athenaeum
BCL	Boston College Library
BkPL	Brooklyn Public Library (Brooklyn, N. Y.)
BM	British Museum
BPL	Boston Public Library
BrUL	Brown University Library (Providence, R. I.)
CgL	Congregational Library (Boston, Mass.)
CorUL	Cornell University Library
CUL	Columbia University Library
Ed UL	Edinburgh University Library (Scotland)
EI	Essex Institute (Salem, Mass.)
HCL	Harvard College Library
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, Calif.)
HoUL	Howard University Library (Washington, D. C.)
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library
LC	Library of Congress
LCoPh	Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Branch
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, Mass.)
MSL	Massachusetts State Library (Boston, Mass.)
NL	Newberry Library (Chicago, Ill.)
NYPL	New York Public Library
NYHS	New-York Historical Society
NYSL	New York State Library (Albany, N. Y.)
OCL	Oberlin College Library
PI	Peabody Institute (Baltimore, Md.)
PTSL	Princeton Theological Seminary Library
So KM	South Kensington Museum (London, Eng.)
UChL	University of Chicago Library
UMichL	University of Michigan Library
UMinnL	University of Minnesota Library
UPaL	University of Pennsylvania Library
UVaL	University of Virginia Library
WHS	Wisconsin State Historical Society
YUL	Yale University Library

Bibliography of Richard Hildreth's Minor Works

Pamphlets

A Report of the Trial of the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery before the Supreme Judicial Court of Rhode Island, in an Indictment for the Murder of Sarah Maria Cornell; containing a full Statement of the Testimony, together with the Arguments of Counsel, and the Charge to the Jury. By Richard Hildreth.

Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Co., David H. Ela, 1833. 144 pp. Map. 21½ cm.

Copies: AAS; LCoPh; NYHS; NYPL (last leaf missing).

————. 2nd ed., Boston, 1833. 24 cm.

Copies: AAS; BA; HCL; NYPL; BM.

————. 3d ed., Boston, 1833. 8°.

Copies: HEH; MSL; HSP (imperfect).

This was the *cause célèbre* of the time. Every newspaper within reach of Newport, where the sensational proceedings were held, sent its experts, stenographers, and reporters. A stream of pamphlets came off the presses, presenting every phase of the case. I have counted about ten items dealing with the trial, some of them prepared by such noted journalists of the day as Benjamin F. Hallett. Forty years later a German translation of the documents was published in Cincinnati. As a lawyer and newspaper man Richard Hildreth was dispatched to the scene of the trial by two Boston periodicals. (1)

Brief Remarks on Miss Catharine E. Beecher's Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism; by the Author of Archy Moore.

Boston: Printed by Isaac Knapp, 1837. 28 pp. 18 cm.

Copies: BA; BPL; CorUL; EI; HCL; MHS; NYHS; NYPL; BM. (2)

The History of Banks: To which is added a Demonstration of the Advantages and Necessity of Free Competition in the Business of Banking.

Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1837. iv, 5-142 pp., + iv. 19 cm. Preface dated: "August 1st, 1837."

Copies: BA; BkPL; CUL; HCL (2); HEH; LC (2); MSL; NYPL; PI; UChL; UMichL; UPaL.

————. London: J. S. Hodson, 1837. iv, 151 pp. 17½ cm.

Copies: CUL; LC; EdUL.

This pamphlet was later enlarged and issued under Hildreth's name: *Banks, Banking and Paper Currencies.* Boston: Whipple and Damrell, 1840. (3)

My Connection with the Atlas Newspaper; Including a Sketch of the History of the Amory Hall Party of 1838, and an Account of the Senatorial and Representative Elections in the City of Boston for the Year 1839, So far as the Question of Sustaining the License Law of 1838 was Involved Therein. By R. Hildreth, Late Contributor to the Atlas Newspaper; Late Secretary to the Amory Hall Committee, and Member of the Advisory Committee of the Boston Temperance Association for the Year 1839.

Boston: Published by Whipple and Damrell, 1839. 24 pp. 12°.

Copies: AAS; BA; BPL; EI; LC; MHS; NYHS; NYPL; BM.

It was also published in the *Boston Spy* (a Temperance weekly edited by Hildreth) January 1, 8, 15, 22, 1840. (4)

The People's Presidential Candidate; or the Life of William Henry Harrison, of Ohio. By Richard Hildreth.

Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co., 1840. 126 pp.

Copies: NYPL (2nd ed.); LC (3d ed.); NYHS (3d ed.); AAS (4th ed.); AAS (6th ed., with portrait of Harrison); WHS (6th ed., also with portrait); BM (7th ed.). NL and NYPL have a copy each of an edition not specified, probably because the original front wrappers, which bore the information regarding the edition, are missing.

The contents of all these editions are identical with those of the first edition (Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co., 1839), 211 pp., of which many copies are available; none of them is listed here as the book exceeds 150 pp. (5)

The Contrast; Or, William Henry Harrison versus Martin Van Buren.

Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co., 1840. 72 pp.

"Advertisements" of two books by Hildreth, pp. 65-72.

Entered for copyright by Richard Hildreth.

Copies: AAS; BA; BPL; HCL; LC; NYSL.

Sometimes attributed to Hildreth owing to the similarity of title and subject is the following anonymous pamphlet: *The Contrast; or, Plain Reasons Why William Henry Harrison should be Elected President of the United States, and Why Martin Van Buren should not be Re-elected.* By an old Democrat. [Colophon]: Published by J. P. Giffing, New York, [c. 1840]. 16 pp. The author is Jacob Bailey Moore, on the authority of an entry in the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the New York Historical Society* (New York, Printed for the Society, 1859). This work was prepared and published at a time when J. B. Moore was a Director of the Historical Society and his son, George H., was its Librarian. (6)

A Letter to Andrews Norton on Miracles as a Foundation of Religious Faith.
Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co., 1840. 52 pp. 23cm.

Copies: AAS; A-HTSL; BPL; HCL; LC (Waterman Pamphlets, 159:9); NL; PTSL. The LC Union Catalogue reports a copy at BrUL, not confirmed at the Library.

Hildreth's reply to Norton's *A Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity* (Cambridge, Mass., J. Owen, 1839), which is an attack on the Transcendentalists. A reply had already been made by George Ripley. Among others who joined in the controversy and, like Hildreth, opposed Norton's religious views were James Freeman Clarke, Theodore Parker (writing under the pseudonym of "Levi Blodgett") and Orestes A. Brownson. (7)

A Letter to his Excellency Marcus Morton, on Banking and the Currency. By R. Hildreth, Author of "Banks, Banking, and Paper Money," "A Life of Harrison," &c. &c.
Boston: Printed by Kidder and Wright, 1840. 16 pp. 8°.

Copies: AAS; BrUL; CUL (another in the Seligman Collection); EI; LC; LCoPh; UMichL; YUL; BM.

The item appears in a list of Hildreth's works "Just Published and For Sale" by Whipple and Damrell on the pink-paper back cover of *A Letter to Emory Washburn* (Boston, 1840). (8)

Strictures on Governor Morton's Message, By a Democrat. No. 1.
Boston: Whipple and Damrell, 1840.

Copy: not known.

Not in Sabin. It appears in the list of Hildreth's works advertised as "Just Published and For Sale" by Whipple and Damrell on the back cover of *A Letter to Emory Washburn,* Boston, 1840. The concluding portion, about five pages, of the pamphlet was reprinted in the *Boston Spy*, February 5, 1840, pp. 1-2.

————. 2nd ed., Boston: Printed by Cassady & March, 1840. 16 pp. 8°.

Copies: HCL (so in Sabin; copy not located); BM (listed in the Catalogue under "Democrat").

In addition to the title as above given, the running-head is: *Governor Morton and the Temperance Law of 1838.* (9)

A Letter to Emory Washburn, Wm. M. Rogers, and Seventy-eight Others, Dissentients from the Resolution Touching Political Action, Adopted by the State

Temperance Convention. By R. Hildreth, Corresponding Secretary of the Moral Suasion Temperance Society.

Boston: Printed at the office of "The Boston Spy." Kidder & Wright, printers, 1840. 16 pp. 8°.

Cover title: Temperance and Political Action.

Copies: AAS; BPL; CgL; MHS; MSL; NYPL; LCoPh; WHS; YUL; BM. (10)

A Letter to Deacon Moses Grant, on Moral Suasion, Legal Suasion, and the Present Position of the Temperance Cause with Particular Reference to the Proceedings of the late Convention of the Friends of Temperance held in Boston, the 20th and 21st of February last; By R. Hildreth. [Lynn]. 4 pp.

Signed: "Boston, March 1, 1844." Caption: Essex County Washingtonian, Extra.

A Second Letter to Deacon Moses Grant, on the Dangers Threatened to the "Civil and Religious Institutions of the Commonwealth" by the Progress and Present Advocacy of the Temperance Cause. By R. Hildreth. [N. p., n. d.] 4 pp.

The two are usually stitched or otherwise fastened together as one pamphlet of 8 pp. The type faces are, however, completely different.

Copies: AAS; BPL (copy not located); EI; MHS. (11)

What Can I Do for the Abolition of Slavery? By R. Hildreth.

Boston: J. W. Alden, Publishing Agent [ca. 1844-1845]. 4 pp. (New England Anti-Slavery Association. Tract No. 8.)

Copies: AAS; BPL; CgL; CorUL; EI; HCL; HEH; MSL; NYHS. (12)

A Plea for Sunday Freedom, In a Letter to John Quincy Adams. By 'One of the New Generation.' [From the Liberator.]

N. t. p. [J. B. Tolman, pr., Lynn, n.d.] 8 pp. [Pioneer. Extra.] 8°.

The information given above was furnished by the Boston Public Library, whose copy of the pamphlet has not been located. No other is known to me. In the absence of an Index to the *Liberator* it was necessary to search through the files of the periodical from 1831 to the year of J. Q. Adams's death. I finally discovered the article in the issue of January 24th, 1845, p. 16, where it fills all but one-half column of the large folio page: *A Plea for Sunday Freedom: in a Letter to John Quincy Adams, President of the late Baltimore Lord's-day Convention.* By 'One of the New Generation.' (13)

Letter. A Joint Letter to Orestes A. Brownson and the Editor of the North American Review: In which the Editor of the North American Review is Proved to be no Christian, and Little Better than an atheist. By R. Hildreth, Author of 'Theory of Morals.'

[Boston, n.d., ca. 1845.] 34 pp. 16 cm. Appended date: "April 17th, 1844" (*sic!*).

Copies: A-HTSL; BPL; CorUL; Mrs. Emery F. Gray; HCL; MHS; NYPL; BM; SoKM (The Forster Collection).

This pamphlet is Hildreth's rejoinder to two reviews of his treatise, *Theory of Morals* (Boston 1844): 1. by O. A. Brownson in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, July 1844, pp. 328-349; 2. by "The Editor" of the *NAR*, LX (April 1845), 393-403. Hence the *Joint Letter* (Brownson called attention to the incorrect use of the word "Joint") could not have been written and published in 1844. To accept that date we should have to believe that on "April 17, 1844" Hildreth completed a reply to one critical article that was not published until three months later, and to another a whole year before its publication. The following circumstance further proves that the date given in Hildreth's pamphlet is a misprint for 1845. Hildreth's *Joint Letter* makes several references to Brownson's Roman Catholicism; but as Brownson did not join the Catholic Church until October 1844, Hildreth could not have known about it in April when Brownson himself was hardly contemplating the step. It is also clear from the title of the pamphlet as well as from its contents that Hildreth believed the writer of the *NAR* critique to be the Editor, Francis Bowen—hence libraries possessing a copy of the *Joint Letter* catalogue it also under Bowen. Hildreth was unaware that the offending reviewer was actually his Harvard classmate, the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, a constant contributor to the *NAR*, who did not take the magazine over as editor and proprietor until 1852, after Bowen had completed Volume 77. Not until 1851 did Hildreth learn of his error. Probably conscience-stricken at having demonstrated to the world that an ordained minister, his old friend, was "no Christian and little better than an Atheist," he wrote a letter to Peabody (October 1, 1851, preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) explaining his mistake but by no means retracting his condemnation of the review article. Brownson had long before in his *Quarterly* (July 1845) printed a rejoinder to *A Joint Letter*. (14)

Native-Americanism Detected and Exposed. By a Native American.

Boston: For the Author, 1845. 36 pp.

Copy: BA.

Listed by Sabin, who does not locate a copy. Hildreth's signature in his own hand appears on the title-page of the BA copy. The authorship is established

beyond doubt in a letter (Boston, December 1844, to his mother) written by the artist George Fuller, a nephew of Mrs. Richard Hildreth: "It gives me great pleasure to say that Hildreth grows very fast in the good will of his *nephews*, at least. He has lately written a tract, 'Native Americanism Exposed,' a political thing, which I will send father as soon as I can get it."—*George Fuller: His Life and Works* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1886), p. 21. (15)

Anti-Slavery Tracts. No. 6. The "Ruin" of Jamaica.
[New York, n. d., ca. 1855.] 12 pp.
Copies: AAS; BCL; CorUL; EI; HCL; HEH; HSP; LC; LCoPh; MSL; NL; NYHS; NYPL (another in the Schomburg Collection); NYSL; OCL; UMichL; UMinnL (lacks title-page); UPaL; UVaL; WHS; YUL. (16)

Origin and Genealogy of the American Hildreths. A Letter to D. M. Hildreth, Esq., New Orleans.
Boston: Henry W. Dutton & Son, Printers, 1857. 8 pp.
Also, in: *New England Hist. and Geneal. Register* (1857), XI: 7-12.
Also, separately printed, Gloucester, Mass., 1879. 9 pp. (17)

Proceedings of a Great Whig Meeting of Citizens of Boston, held at Amory Hall, on the Evening of Wednesday, October 19th, 1838.
Boston: Perkins and Marvin, 1838. 19 pp.
Pages 4-14: Hildreth's Address on Temperance.
Copies: BA (2); BPL; MHS; NYPL. (18)

The Case of William L. Chaplin; Being an Appeal to all Respecters of Law and Justice, against the cruel and oppressive Treatment to which under color of Legal Proceedings, he has been Subjected in the District of Columbia and the State of Maryland.
Boston: Published by the Chaplin Committee, 1851. 54 pp. 8°. Portrait.

Copies: BA; BPL; CorUL; EI; HCL (2); MHS; NYPL (lacks the portrait).

The BPL copy bears the inscription on the title-page: "By Richard Hildreth," —not in his hand, however. It is by no means clear that he wrote the pamphlet, though he helped plan it and guided it through the press. The project was conceived by William R. Smith, a Quaker, member of the National Liberty Party and its nominee for the governorship of New York. William L. Chaplin, general agent of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, a publisher of tracts, books, etc., was arrested in Washington, D. C., for aiding the escape of two negro slaves, was thrown into jail, and after five months was released

on posting bail in the amount of $25,000. The Chaplin Committee was financed in the main by the great philanthropist, Gerrit Smith, for whom William R. Smith (not a relative) acted as agent. Anonymously issued, the pamphlet bears the grant of copyright to Wm. R. Smith. In a letter to Gerrit Smith, "Boston, 1st Mo. 12th," the former writes [1851]: "I have agreed with him [Hildreth] to perform the labor for $100.00, and shall learn the terms upon which the printing can be performed to-morrow." In another letter to the same, "Utica, 1st Mo. [1851]" William R. Smith expresses his fear of "the publication of our pamphlet without our revision. . . . I obtained from John Todd a brief biographical notice of Chaplin, which with a capital portrait, lithographed from a sketch by Mrs. Hildreth, will I think add much to the interest of the effort." The correspondence from which I quote is preserved in the Gerrit Smith Collection, Syracuse University Library. The portrait by Mrs. Hildreth is quite good. She was born Caroline Negus and was in her day considered "an artist of considerable distinction." Her best-known work is the miniature of Ralph Waldo Emerson,—see the numerous references to the painting in *The Letters of R. W. Emerson*, ed., R. L. Rusk, vols. III and IV. The miniature is in the possession of Emerson's grandson, Edward Forbes, Esq. (19)

Experience and Personal Narrative of Uncle Tom Jones; who was for forty years a Slave. Also the Surprising Adventures of Wild Tom, of the Island Retreat, a Fugitive Negro from South Carolina.
Boston: Sold at Skinner's Rooms. [1854.] 56 pp.

Copies: BkPL; LC (2).

The "Surprising Adventures of Wild Tom" are extracts from Hildreth's novel, *The Slave; or, Memoirs of Archy Moore* (Boston, 1836); published with a sequel under the title *The White Slave* (Boston, 1852).

————. Boston: Sold at Skinner's Rooms. [1854.] 64 pp. Pages 29-62 contain *Wild Tom's Adventures*; pp. 63-64, Advertisements.

Copies: CUL; HoUL.

————. Boston: Published by H. B. Skinner. No. 15 Friend Street. [1854.] 54 pp.

Copy: NL.

————. New York: G. C. Holbrook, 1854.

Copy: LC.

————. Boston: J. E. Farwell & Co. 32 Congress Street, 1855.

Copy: HCL.

————. Boston: Farwell & Co., 1858. 54 pp.

Copy: NYPL (Schomburg Collection). (20)

Claimed by Hildreth in his 'Notebook of Literary Memoranda'

A few words need to be said about this *Notebook*. It is not a personal "Journal," but a record in Richard Hildreth's own hand not only of the works he published (titles and dates) but of those he planned to write (though non-existent in manuscript or print). In addition it lists, separately, the payments and royalties received for each published work. The *Notebook* came to hand after the present paper was in galley proofs, making it possible for me to accept as by Hildreth two or three works whose authorship I had hitherto thought to be in doubt.

In the *Notebook* Hildreth claims as his the anonymous *An Abridged History of the United States of America. Intended as a sequel to* [Hosea] *Hildreth's View of the United States* (Boston, Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1831), generally ascribed to his father, Hosea, and so catalogued by libraries possessing a copy of the book. It must be noted, however, that the custom of the time permitted Richard Hildreth to assume the authorship of several works which he merely transcribed, corrected, and arranged as a reporter, editor, and literary assistant or advisor (*e. g., A Report of the Trial of the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery, The Case of William L. Chaplin, The Personal Memoir of Daniel Drayton, Speech of Richard Fletcher to his Constituents, Report of a Public Discussion between the Revs. Adin Ballou and Daniel D. Smith*). With perhaps pardonable vanity Hildreth wished to make the sum total of his writings as impressive as possible; the term "authorship" was open to a broad interpretation, and it may well be that Richard Hildreth was not the sole author of *An Abridged History*.

On the other hand, we may now dismiss all doubts regarding his connection with the *Supplement to* [Samuel G. Goodrich's] *Pictorial Geography* (Boston, C. D. Strong, 1854). Not only does the *Notebook* assert the authorship but it lists the payments Hildreth received for the job. He appears to have been employed by the publisher, C. D. Strong, rather than by Goodrich.

Mr. Donald E. Emerson, whose years of devoted research give him a position of foremost authority in matters relating to Richard Hildreth, very generously made it possible for me to cite the pamphlets that follow. I confine myself to those of which at least one copy was examined by me, but time did not permit the compilation of a census of copies.

A Review of "An Oration Delivered Before the Young Men of Boston, on the Fourth of July, MDCCCXXI." [N. p., n. d., Boston, 1831.] 16 pp.

Copies: NYPL (the three pamphlets); others.

The *Oration* "reviewed" was delivered by William F. Otis, attorney-at-law, and published (Boston, Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1831). Hildreth definitely claims *A Review* as his. The AAS copy of *A Review* bears the lead-pencil inscription: "H. Hutchins from his friend R. Hildreth." The hand-

writing, however, differs sufficiently from that of the historian to create doubt; besides, Hildreth seldom used the lead pencil. The recipient of this copy may have been Hamilton Hutchins, Dartmouth College 1827, attorney-at-law in Concord, N. H. An anonymous reply to this pamphlet: *The Reviewer Reviewed. A Defence of An Oration* . . . . (Boston, Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1831) offers no clue as to the authorship of the tract it controverts. (21)

The Boston Opposition to the New Law for the Suppression of Rum Shops and Grog Shops, fully Detected and Plainly Exposed; being an Appeal to the Country-People of Massachusetts to Protect Themselves . . . .
Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1838. 1 p. l., 3-32 pp. sm. 12°. Pp. 29-32: Chancellor Kent's Opinion.
Copies: BA; BPL; HCL; NYPL (3); others. (22)

Proceedings of the Massachusetts State Temperance Convention held in Boston, February 12, 1840.
Boston: Whipple and Damrell, 1840.
Copies: NYPL; others.
Pages 13-14: a summary of and extracts from Hildreth's Address. (23)

"Our First Men": a Calendar of Wealth, Fashion and Gentility, containing a list of those persons taxed in . . . Boston . . . .
Boston: Published by all the Booksellers, 1846. 48 pp. 8°.
Copies: NYPL; others.

————. 2nd revised edition. Boston, 1846. 48 pp. 8°.
Copies: CUL; others. (24)

Personal Memoir of Daniel Drayton, for Four Years and Four Months a Prisoner (for Charity's Sake) in a Washington Jail. Including a Narrative of the Voyage and Capture of the Schooner Pearl . . . .
Boston: Bela Marsh; New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1853. Portrait. 122 pp. 18 cm.
Copies: NYPL; others.

————. 2nd ed. The same, 1855.
Copies: NYPL (2); others. (25)

Articles In Books and Magazines

American Monthly Magazine (Boston, 1829), I: 16-24, *The Republic of Letters*; I: 164-173, *Homer*; I: 264-274, *Shakespeare*; I: 379-385, *National Literature*; I: 469-473, *On the Gratuitous Administration of Justice*; I: 532-540, *Review of Captain Hall's "Travels in America."* (26)

The Boston Atlas (June 20, 25, 29, 1833): *Discussion on the Temperance Pledge.* (27)

The Boston Evening Telegraph (November 13, 1854): *Uncle Tom, The White Slave, Ida May, and the New York Evening Post;* (November 28, 29; December 4, 1854): *Positive Philosophy.* (28)

The Boston Spy (Boston, 1840), "Sketches of Great Men: Leaders of the Liberals": I, *Benjamin F. Hallett* (January 15); II, *Joseph T. Buckingham* (January 22); III, *Marcus Morton* (January 29); *Valedictory* (June 24). (29)

Harper's Magazine (New York, January, 1854), VIII: 194-207, *Dutch and English in Japan.* (30)

Ladies Magazine (Boston, 1828), I: 49-51, *The Grand Secret*; I: 145-147, *Novels and Novel Reading.*

Both over the signature: "Colimetis." (31)

The Liberator (Boston, May 3, 1843), p. 175: *Massachusetts Politics*; (May 19, 1854), p. 77: *The Anti-Slavery Movement and the Dissolution of the Union.* (32)

Massachusetts Quarterly Review (Boston, March-June, 1848), I: 145-167, 273-293, *Has Slavery in the United States a Legal Basis?*;* (December, 1848), II: 32-39, *The Legality of American Slavery*;* (December, 1849), III: 66-67, *Validity of Instruments and Contracts Executed on Sunday.* (33)

New England Magazine (Boston, 1831), I: 205-209, 307-311, 500-504, *The Limping Philosopher*;** (1832), II: 1-4, *The New Year*; II: 239-243, *The Near-Sighted Lover*; II: 333-336, *Loose Thoughts on Plagiarism*; II: 403-405,

* These two papers were later incorporated in the 3d (enlarged) edition of his *Despotism in America; or, an Inquiry into the Nature and Results of the Slave-Holding System in the United States* (Boston, John P. Jewett & Co., 1854).

** Confirmed by Joseph T. Buckingham, proprietor and editor of the magazine. See his *Personal Memoirs* (Boston, Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852), II: 76n.

479-483, and (1832), III: 53-57, 110-113, *Reminiscences of a Retired Military Officer*;* III: 392-397, *Romance and Reality*; III: 481-485, *The Course of Time*; III: 503-507, *Review of J. Q. Adams' "Dermot MacMorrogh."*
(34)

Putnam's Magazine (New York, January-July, 1855), V: 609-616, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire;* (July-December, 1855), VI: 113-120, *Turkish Wars of Former Times;* (January-June, 1856), VII: 208-213, *A Word for Men's Rights;* VII: 337-346, *Religious Freedom in America;* VII: 511-524, 614-628, and (July-December, 1856), VIII: 55-69, *Napoleon Bonaparte as a Family Man.*
(35)

The Boston Book (Boston, Light & Stearns, 1837), pp. 85-92: *A Thanksgiving Dream.*
(36)

Homes of American Statesmen (New York, A. U. Upham, 1858), pp. 97-122: *John Hancock.*

————. Other eds.: New York, G. P. Putnam, 1854; Hartford (Conn.), O. D. Case, 1856; London, S. Low, Son & Co., 1854.
(37)

New American Cyclopaedia, ed. by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1856 ff.). 16 vols.

The Preface enumerates the following as a partial list of Hildreth's contributions: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Samuel Adams, Jeremy Bentham, John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Caucus, Coolies, W. H. Crawford, Creole, Etienne Dumont, Alexander Hamilton, Pres. W. H. Harrison.
(38)

Poems

Ladies Magazine (March, 1828), I: 142, *Sonnet. To Marianne.*

Signed "Colimetis"; written September, 1827.
(39)

American Monthly Magazine (October, 1829), I: 468-469, *Stanzas written on a blank leaf of the 'Faery Queene.'*

Signed "C. *S." Written June, 1827. To illustrate Hildreth's verse-making and his keen rhythmic sense I quote the following stanza:

"Yet we must trim our vessel to the tide,
And steer our courses as the currents flow,

* Signed "Belerophon Burdock"; reprinted as *Naval Reminiscences,* in: *The Boston Atlas,* July 16, 1835, signed "H."

By the prevailing winds our barks must guide,
And catch the breezes as they chance to blow;
And through the world by the world's rules must go.
But though we yield us to the stern demand,
A very worthy wight, in outward show,
Still, in our hearts, Romance shall make a stand,
And in our secret soul, shall spring a 'fairy hand.' " (40)

Ladies Magazine (April, 1828), I: 180, *The Full-Blown Rose.*
Signed "H." Written July, 1827. (41)

New England Magazine (June, 1832), II: 514, *Sonnet. The Sea-Shore by Moonlight.*
Written at Gloucester Beach, May, 1828. (42)

New England Magazine (January, 1832), II: 23, *Hymn to Plutus.*
Written July, 1828. Reprinted in *The Boston Spy*, January 8, 1840. (43)

New England Magazine (October, 1831), I: 306-307, *Massachusetts.*
Signed "Z." (44)

The Boston Atlas (December 3, 1853): *The Evening Fireside.* (45)

Erroneously Attributed To Hildreth

Several items deserve mention at this point, though they represent books rather than pamphlets. Hildreth is sometimes credited with the authorship of *Sixty Years Hence. A Tale of the Future.* By the Author of "The White Slave," "Revelations of Russia," etc. (London, Newby, 1847). This Utopian novel is by Charles F. Henningsen. The ascription to Hildreth resulted from the fact that Henningsen also wrote a novel with the title *The White Slave.* But the dates and subtitles should have prevented the confusion. Henningsen's *The White Slave, or, The Russian Peasant Girl,* by the Author of "Revelations of Russia," was published anonymously in New York, 1845; Hildreth's novel did not appear under the new title until 1852. The error having been made, it was natural for cataloguers to father upon Hildreth the *Revelations of Russia* (London, 1844), 2 vols., as well as its French translation (Paris, 1845), 3 vols. I believe that by now most libraries reporting these works have set the matter straight. Unfortunately the mistake persists in a LC volume of facsimile-cards, where, *sub* Richard Hildreth, there is a cross-reference to the *Revelations of Russia* and its French version.

Early Connecticut Laws

By Albert C. Bates

A VOLUME, then unbound and without title, of separate issues of Connecticut Laws, now in the Library of Yale University, the earliest printing of its laws within the Colony, was first seen by the writer in 1898. This folio volume comprises the Acts and Laws passed by the General Assembly of the Colony between the editions of its laws printed in 1702 and 1715.[1] In 1708 Connecticut decided that it would be advantageous to employ a printer, who should be required to settle within the Colony. An invitation was extended to Timothy Green, a Boston printer; but it was declined, he saying that he "was not willing to leave a certainty for an uncertainty." An invitation was then extended to Thomas Short, another Boston printer. Thomas was a brother of Mary Short, the first wife of Bartholomew Green, also a Boston printer and father of the Timothy Green already mentioned. The Short family had earlier removed from Boston to Maine, and there when a boy Thomas had been taken captive by the Indians and carried to Canada. After his redemption he probably lived in the family of his brother-in-law Bartholomew, by whom he was taught the printer's trade. In September 1708, Short came to Connecticut bringing with him a letter, perhaps of recommendation, to Governor Gurdon Saltonstall from Judge Samuel Sewall. The outcome was his engagement as printer under a contract with the General Assembly.

[1] These are: *Acts* | *and* | *Laws* | *Of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut* | *In* | *New-England.* | (Royal Arms) | Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen. | 1702. | and, *Acts* | *and* | *Laws* | *Of His Majesties Colony* | *of* | *Connecticut* | *in* | *New-England.* | (Royal Arms) | New- London: | Re-printed and Sold by Timothy Green, | Printer to his Honour the Go- | vernour and Council. | 1715. |

This contract was for four years at an annual salary of fifty pounds. For this Short was to print the laws as they were enacted within one month after receipt of the copy, the annual election sermons if desired, orders for fasts and thanksgivings and all other proclamations, he to find the paper, and to deliver to the several sheriffs for distribution one copy for every town, place or society having a clerk or register. He was "also to print our laws which are now in manuscript," that is, those enacted since the revision of 1702, he to find the paper, for which he was to be paid twenty shillings a sheet. These were to be folded, stitched, and have a "painted paper" cover.

Coming to Connecticut, probably in the spring of 1709, and locating in New London, Short was ready to take up his work according to contract, and we find him printing there during the second week of June. This was a critical time in the history of Connecticut for the Colony was for the first time entering upon an armed clash with a foreign power. Upon request of the English Government troops were being raised to aid in the war against Canada. Money was necessary for this purpose, to raise which by the issuance of bills of credit a special session of the General Assembly, which continued for four days, was called to meet on June eighth, and an Act for issuance of bills was passed, probably on the first day of the session. This matter was considered of such importance that apparently without waiting for the close of the session a special printing of this Act was made by Short on three unnumbered pages and with the sheet mark of an inverted D. In the original unbound volume this separately printed Act followed the Acts of May 1709, but when the volume was bound (as will hereafter appear) it was transposed so as to precede the Acts of May 1709. This Act may well take precedence over a broadside proclamation for a fast that was proclaimed June fifteenth and printed by Short, as the earliest printing known to have been done in Connecticut. The complete Acts of this June session were print-

ed by Short on four unnumbered pages with the sheet marked B. Continuing he printed the Acts of the session of May 1709 on four unnumbered pages with the sheet marked A. That these were not printed until after the June session is shown by the printed marginal note to the Act for "Stating the fees for Collectors and Naval Officers," which says "This Act repealed June 1709." All later Acts printed by Short, with a single exception, as well as those already mentioned, carry the imprint of Thomas Short in New London. Then follow:

Acts of October 1709, eleven unnumbered pages with sheet marks B to D.
Acts of May 1710, three unnumbered pages with sheet mark E.
Acts of October 1710, three unnumbered pages with sheet mark F.
Acts of May 1711, sixteen unnumbered pages with sheet marks G to I, K (no J).
Acts of June 1711, without imprint, four unnumbered pages with sheet mark an inverted triangle of small stars.

At this period Connecticut had two capitals and sessions of the General Assembly were alternated between the two, those of the earlier part of the year being held at Hartford and those of the latter part at New Haven. On this occasion, however, the Governor took unprecedented action by convening the Assembly at New London on June nineteenth, 1711. The evident reason for this was that England was at war with France and a letter had been received, and was laid before the Assembly, from Her Majesty Queen Anne, requesting the Colony's aid in sending an expedition against Canada, and a letter to the same purpose from Colonel Francis Nicholson, also that the Council of War of the colonies was to meet in New London two days later to discuss the action of the colonies concerning the aid to be given by way of troops for such an expedition. The Council met on the twenty-first and adjourned the following day. There were present at the meeting Governor Joseph Dudley, of Massachusetts, Governor Robert Hunter of New York and New Jersey, Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut, Governor Samuel Cranston of Rhode Island,

Colonel Francis Nicholson, a former governor of Virginia and commander of the expeditions against Canada of the two previous years, and Colonel Peter Schuyler of New York. There were also several gentlemen in attendance upon them. The Assembly voted twenty pounds to Governor Saltonstall to pay his expenses of entertaining the Governors, and also voted to raise the colony's quota of three hundred and sixty men for the expedition against the French.

For the next year the colony's laws were printed by Short with a New London imprint as follows:

Acts of October 1711, three unnumbered pages with sheet mark N.
Acts of May 1712, eight unnumbered pages with sheet marks O, P.

The colony was left without a printer by the death of Thomas Short on September 27, 1712, perhaps after an illness of several months. Next follow:

Acts of October 1712, pages 59 to 61, with sheet mark Q.

There is no imprint, but it seems a reasonable supposition that they were printed by Bartholomew Green in Boston, as was the election sermon for that year.

Properly arranged in this volume, preceding the separately printed session acts already noted, are the laws from 1703 to 1708 that were in manuscript and which Short by his contract had agreed to print. The caption heading for this publication, which may have been preceded, as are all the separately printed session acts, by a cut of the Royal Arms, was probably "Acts and Laws Passed by the General Court or Assembly of Her Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New-England." The first three leaves of this publication are wanting, so that pagination and sheet marks for them must be assumed. The collation probably was pages 118 (for 119) to 142, and the sheet marks Hh to Nn (no Jj). Apparently an error in pagination was made at the beginning, for the first remaining page is numbered 124, the next 125 and the next

127, which corrects the pagination to make it consecutive following the edition of 1702, which ends with page 118, and with its final sheet mark which is Gg.

The whole volume when first seen by the writer was held together by a coarse binder's thread which passed through two stabbed holes about an inch apart near the center of the back margin bridging across from one hole to the other and with the ends of the thread fastened together at the back of the volume. Under this bridge of thread there remained fragments of the three missing leaves, which had evidently been roughly torn from the volume. They were in the shape of a long narrow oval, the lower one extending about an inch above and below the stabbed holes, the next about a half inch above and below the holes and the upper one about a quarter inch above and below. Also above these and under the thread were traces of another leaf which was doubtless the "painted paper" cover called for in Short's contract. This painted paper was perhaps colored red by wavy stripes two or three inches in width, which were not solid stripes but looked as if put on with a brush from which more or less of the bristles were missing. These small fragments of the missing leaves are now themselves missing.

In May 1709, probably about the time of Short's coming to New London, the Assembly appointed a committee to prepare these laws for the Press so that they might be laid before the Assembly the following October to be "perrused and approved" for printing. Evidently the committee was dilatory in its work, for at the session of the following May, 1710, the Governor was requested to aid the committee in its work that the laws might be ready for the "view of the Assembly" the following October, 1710.

On November 22, 1710, Short was voted a grant of forty pounds with which to purchase paper for printing the Confession of Faith, better known as the Saybrook Platform. It would take

some time to secure this paper, for it had to be procured from Boston, New York or possibly from England. The record of the Council for June 14, 1711, says "we cant have the use of the press for making of bills for a considerable time unless we make use of it now." This was evidently in anticipation of the printing of the Confession of Faith. Hence it appears that the laws passed previous to 1709 must have been printed between October 1710 and June 1711.

Following the death of Short, Timothy Green of Boston was again invited to become the colony's official printer, and accepted under a contract differing but slightly from that of his predecessor. Beginning in the spring of 1713, he agreed, at a salary of forty pounds, to print three hundred copies of each issue of the Acts and Laws. His printings that appear in this volume are:

Acts of May 1713, New London, T. Green, 1713, pages 63 to 68, 1 leaf blank, sheet marks R, S.

Acts of October 1713, New London, T. Green, 1713, pages 69 to 72, sheet mark T.

Acts of May 1714, New London, Timothy Green, 1714, pages 73 to 76, sheet mark V.

Acts of October 1714, New London, Timothy Green, 1714, pages 77 to 82, 1 leaf blank, sheet marks X, Y.

Acts of May 1715, no imprint, pages 83 to 87, 1 leaf blank, sheet marks Z, A2.

Presumably Green also printed:

Acts of October 1715, pages 89 to 94,[2] although no copy is known.

In addition to those already noted as in the Yale Library volume, copies of the separately printed Acts and Laws for the following sessions are to be found in His Majesty's State Paper Office in London, England. They are May 1709, June 1709, October 1709, May 1710, August 1710, October 1710, May 1711, June 1711 and May 1712. It will be noted that this list includes one issue not found in the Yale Library volume. It is:

[2] This pagination is an estimate from the space that would be necessary to print the Acts that were passed at this session.

Acts of August 1710, New London, Thomas Short, 1710, two unnumbered pages, without sheet mark.

The items already described as in the Yale Library volume and in the State Paper Office, together with a single duplicating page in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society, comprise all the known examples of these issues.

In 1916, the writer secured a rather unsatisfactory photograph of this August issue. In the hands of an expert it was rephotographed several times until a print was obtained that was strong enough to be used in making a photo-zinc plate. Ten copies were printed from this plate on old paper and one of these has been inserted in the Yale Library volume.

As previously noted, this Yale Library volume when first seen by the writer had never been bound; also none of the edges had been trimmed. The paper on which it was printed was large for the printed text, leaving blank margins of an unusual width. The fine hand-made paper with its irregular and somewhat rough edges varied in size, so that some of the fore-edge blank margins had a width of between two and three inches and some of the bottom margins a width of between three and four inches. This as one opened the pages made a picture that would delight the eyes and heart of any booklover. The blank margins on the issue of October 1712, believed to have been printed in Boston, were narrower than those on the issues printed in New London. Then, early in the present century, somewhere around 1905, the volume was placed in the binder's hands. A handsome blue half-morocco cover was placed upon it and, sad to relate, the binder's knife at the same time sheared off the beautiful wide margins, leaving only the average margin of blank paper to be found on a modern book.

That such desecration of a volume of Connecticut incunabula, a portion of which is unique, should have been allowed and executed in and by the library of a great Connecticut university

seems almost beyond belief. It is comparable only to trimming off the margins from the leaves of a Gutenburg Bible. The individual items in this volume would each have been worthy of a separate binding, and a binding large enough to have included the full size of the beautiful original margins that now are gone forever.

The Authors in this Issue

Ernest J. Wessen is the owner of the Midland Rare Book Company in Mansfield, Ohio. He has long been interested in Lincoln materials and bibliography, being the author of an earlier study of Lincoln published in the Society's *Papers* in the Fourth Quarter, 1940, Pp. 327-348, entitled *Lincoln Bibliography—Its Present Status and Needs.*

David A. Randall has been the manager of the Rare Book Department of Charles Scribner's Sons since 1935. He is the author, with William M. Van Winkle, of *Bibliography of Frank Forestor (Henry William Herbert)* 1935, and the American editor of *Bibliographical Notes and Queries.* He has frequently contributed to *The Publishers' Weekly, The New York Times,* and formerly to *The Colophon.*

Dr. Louis S. Friedland is the General Editor of *Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints,* and was formerly a contributing editor of *The Dial* (Chicago) in addition to experience in teaching, newspaper and magazine work.

As the librarian-emeritus of the Connecticut Historical Society after forty-seven years of service to that Society, Albert C. Bates has had a continuing interest in problems relating to early printing and history of Connecticut, and his scholarly studies have added much to our knowledge of colonial and early Federal history.

Note on the Pforzheimer Catalogue

To the Editor:

In Professor Kirschbaum's paper on *Author's Copyright in England before 1640* in the last number of the Papers, he discusses (pp. 58-74) certain titles which are grouped in an Index of the *Pforzheimer Catalogue* under the heading "Private Publication," his point being that no evidence is there given that the authors had registered copyright in their own names. Surely this is setting up men of straw, for nowhere in the descriptions cited by Kirschbaum is there any such claim made; rather, these items were so listed because there is evidence that someone, usually the author, not a regular member of the book trade, had financed the publication for private sale or for presentation, either of the whole or of part of the edition. Several of the items, in fact, merely discuss the conjectures of previous scholars on this point, and conclude that the evidence is insufficient.

I shall not take your space to discuss Professor Kirschbaum's notes on all of these books, but feel impelled to address this letter to you because in his dealing with the *Pforzheimer Catalogue* note on Sir William Berkeley's *The Lost Lady*, 1638, he cites an article by R. C. Bald published in *The Library*, 1937. Although the *Pforzheimer Catalogue* bears the date 1940 on its title-pages, it was not published until 1942, while most of it was set up in galley proof in 1936-1937, and all but a very few pages were in page proof by April, 1938. There has been some misunderstanding on this point, and I therefore take this opportunity of explaining why material published elsewhere in the years 1937-1940 was not made use of in the *Catalogue*.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. A. Jackson

1 May 1946

Bibliographical Notes

CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. LAELIUS DE AMICITIA. [COLOGNE: ULRICH ZELL, 1467.] SMALL 4°.

30 leaves, last blank. Sig.: (a-c^8; d^6).

The reasons for dating this book 1467 are: It is printed with Zell's first type and contains the letter "h" in rounded form which was discarded for the tailed "h" soon after 1467. (Proctor p. 73.) It is printed in the same type that Zell used for Cicero's *Paradoxa*, which is consistently dated [1467]. The strongest link is found in Zell's use of pinholes in his small quartos. It is definitely known that he used four pinholes in 1467, two in 1469 and none in 1472. (Pollard's introduction to British Museum Cat. p. XV.) In the copy of this book in The New York Public Library the use of four pins is easily seen. It seems reasonable to postulate the year 1467 as the date of this volume and honor it with the distinction of being the *editio princeps* of this well-known classic.

Voulliéme, 330; *Second Census*, C506. JOHN FLEMING

TRUMBULL, BENJAMIN, 1735-1820.

Proposals For publishing by Subscription, In a large Octavo Volume, a complete History of Connecticut, From the time of the emigration of its first planters from England, in 1630, to 1712. By Benjamin Trumbull, A.M. . . . The history will be put to the press as soon as the subscription papers have had time for a general circulation: and it is requested that they may be returned by the last of August next, to Mess'rs. Hudson and Goodwin, at Hartford, the designed publishers of the work. Hartford, (Connecticut) April 26, 1796. . . .

Broadside. 39 x 16.5 cm.

Listed in Sabin (No. 97190) without the location of any known copy on the basis of Evans's entry for it (No. 31318), a copy of this broadside has recently been presented to the Harvard College Library by Mr. William B. Osgood Field. The Field-Harvard copy is of particular interest since in the blank portion of the sheet for subscribers' names it contains the

autograph signatures of the ten United States Senators—among them Aaron Burr—who are listed at the head of the "Names of Subscribers" in the published work.

JOHN ALDEN

THE | JOURNAL | OF THE | CONVENTION | OF THE | STATE OF GEORGIA, | ON THE | FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. | AUGUSTA: | PRINTED BY JOHN E. SMITH, PRINTER TO THE STATE. | MDCCLXXXVIII.

20 p. Folio.

Not listed in Evans, Sabin, De Renne or McMurtrie.

This important imprint is in the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library. It is bound in light blue paper covers. The front cover has written on it: "His Excellency The Governor of Virginia from His Honor the Governor of Georgia." The *Journal* was sent to Governor Edmund Randolph accompanied by the following letter:

Augusta Georgia 5 Feb^{y} 1788

Sir

Agreeably to an order of the Executive requesting his honor the Governor to transmit to the several Governors of the United States a Copy of the proceedings of a late Convention held in this state for ratifying the Federal Constitution, which I have the honor to enclose Your Excellency

I have the honor to be
Your Excellencys most
Obedient and Very Hble Serv^{t}
Geo: Handley

His Excellency
The Governor of the State of Virginia

The manuscript journal is in the Georgia Department of Archives; portions of it have been printed in *Georgia and the Federal Constitution*, Julia M. Bland, editor (Washington, 1937). As suggested by the above letter, copies of the *Journal* may be in the archival collections of other of the thirteen original states. Two hundred copies were ordered to be printed.

WILLIAM J. VAN SCHREEVEN

GOODRICH, S. G., JUVENILE HISTORIES, 1831-1852.

A series of histories for juveniles was published from 1831 to 1852, written under the pseudonym of Lambert Lilly, and with such titles as

History of New England, History of American Revolution, History of Middle Southern and Western States. The earliest in the American Antiquarian Society is *History of New England,* Boston, William Hyde, 1831, with announcement that Key & Meilke (*sic*) of Philadelphia had this series in course of publication and that "these works will be somewhat in the style of Peter Parley's Tales, but for more advanced readers." The volume was copyrighted in 1831 by S. G. Goodrich.

The next title in the American Antiquarian Society is *The Early History of the Southern States,* Philadelphia, Key, Mielke and Biddle, 1832, also copyrighted by Goodrich, 1832. The same title, dated 1833, was published at Boston by Allen & Ticknor, and henceforth all of the series was published by the Ticknor firm.

Sabin credited two of the titles to Francis L. Hawks, and Cushing's *Pseudonyms* identifies Lambert Lilly as Francis L. Hawks.

Ticknor in their catalogue of 1860 describes the series as "Parley's Histories" and states: "The above named histories are all from the pen of the original Peter Parley (S. G. Goodrich)." In announcements of their books (for instance, 3d edition of Lowell's *Biglow Papers,* 1853) they list the five titles all under S. G. Goodrich as author.

Of the several memoirs and biographies of Hawks, none mentions his authorship of these books, although he did write a similar series on U. S. history called "Uncle Philip's Conversations."

The Library of Congress catalogue formerly credited this series to Hawks, but now says either by Hawks or Goodrich. I can find no evidence to show that the books were by Hawks, and the above evidence shows that they were by Goodrich.

C. S. Brigham

Sue, Eugene. The King of the Winds [The Godolphin Arabian.] Translated expressly for *Porter's Spirit of the Times* [by Henry William Herbert]. In: *Porter's Spirit of the Times.* New York, April 25, 1857 (Vol. 2, no. 8. Whole no. 34.)—May 30, 1857 (Vol. 2, no. 13. Whole no. 39.)

Sue, Eugene. Godolphin Arabian, or, The King of the Winds. [Translated by Henry William Herbert.] In: *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times.* New York, April 20, 1861 (Vol. 4, no. 7. Whole no. 85.)—June 15, 1861 (Vol. 4, no. 15. Whole no. 93.)

There has been some discussion of whether or not Henry William Herbert ("Frank Forester") translated Eugene Sue's account of the Godolphin Arabian, a stallion from which many of our race horses are descended. A newly found piece of evidence coupled with examination of the various texts seems to lead to a positive conclusion.

Sue's work, after publication as a serial in *La Presse*, a Paris journal, appeared as a book titled *Deleytar* (Paris, Ch. Gosselin, 1839). In 1845 an English language edition, said on the title-page to have been "Originally translated for the *Sunday Times*," was published separately in London. Also in 1854 an English translation was published in book form in New York.

In 1857, from April 25 to May 30, *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, a New York weekly edited by W. T. Porter and George Wilkes, published an English translation of Sue's work under the title *The King of the Winds*. Four years later, between April 20 and June 15, 1861, Sue's account, this time titled *Godolphin Arabian, or, The King of the Winds*, again appeared in a New York paper, *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*, edited by George Wilkes, who by then had left *Porter's Spirit*.

The 1845 London version is a close literal translation made without much artistry, and the New York edition of 1845 is obviously a reprint of this London text, the only differences being minor verbal and typographic changes, and a condensation of the concluding paragraph. But the 1857 version "Translated Expressly for Porter's Spirit of the Times" is another matter. It shows signs that although the translator used the earlier London-New York version he also went back to the original French, and it is a better literary job than the earlier translation. This *Porter's Spirit* version, however, is especially noteworthy for containing a chapter more than 4,000 words long which has not been found in French editions examined, or in the 1845 London and New York editions. The added piece is inserted as the eleventh chapter, increasing the total number of chapters from twelve to thirteen. The only other text in which this new chapter has been found is the translation published four years later in *Wilkes' Spirit*, a translation plainly a reprint of the *Porter's Spirit* text with almost no change except of the name given the stallion.

Although it is not known who made the 1845 London translation, Herbert probably did not do it. As Robert W. Henderson pointed out in *The Godolphin Arabian, Bookbuyer*, 3: 18 (Christmas Number, 1937), he had left England several years earlier. But there is the possibility that the *Porter's Spirit* translation was the work of Herbert, for he was living near

New York in 1857 and was both a close friend of W. T. Porter and a contributor to his paper. And that possibility becomes almost a certainty because on page 152, Vol. 10 of *Porter's Spirit* (April 30, 1861), the following statement appears: "We published 'The King of the Winds' in Porter's Spirit, Vol. 2. It was written by Eugene Sue, and translated especially for this paper, by H. W. Herbert, and is now being republished under another name by a contemporary [*Wilkes' Spirit*]."

So unless the editor of *Porter's Spirit* falsified this statement, and there seems to be no reason why he should have, Frank Forester made the translation that ran in *Porter's Spirit* in 1857 and in *Wilkes' Spirit* in 1861. And unless the earliest French version, at the moment unavailable, consisted of thirteen chapters (which is hardly likely, for *La Presse* ran the serial in twelve parts) the 4,000-word Chapter XI inserted in the *Porter's Spirit* translation is a Frank Forester "first."

CARVEL COLLINS
ROBT. W. HENDERSON

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES. A CHRONICLE OF THE TURF, FIELD SPORTS, LITERATURE AND THE STAGE. [Founded by William T. Porter.] New York, December, 1831-June 22, 1861. (Vol. 31, no. 20.) Several minor variations of title and subtitle; and issued during 1832-1834 as *The Traveller: Spirit of the Times and Life in New York*, with title variations.

PORTER'S SPIRIT OF THE TIMES. A CHRONICLE OF THE TURF, FIELD SPORTS, LITERATURE AND THE STAGE. [Founded by William T. Porter and George Wilkes.] New York, September 6, 1856-1861 or ?1862.

WILKES' SPIRIT OF THE TIMES. A CHRONICLE OF THE TURF, FIELD SPORTS, LITERATURE AND THE STAGE. [Founded by George Wilkes.] New York, September 10, 1859-December 13, 1902. Title changed July 4, 1868, to *Spirit of the Times*.

One only need try to get together a set of the weekly New York *Spirit of the Times* to find that the editors of *Bibliotheca Americana* were right when they said that this periodical "has a most confusing history." The remark

applies almost equally well to the two other New York journals which used "Spirit of the Times" in their titles. But it now seems possible to correct two or three of the errors concerning these papers which have been perpetuated in some of the best bibliographical reference works. And such correction should be useful to the students of American culture who are finding these periodicals valuable in the study of folk lore, language, the theater, and daily life in nineteenth-century America.

Despite the erroneous statement found in some quarters that there was only one *Spirit* and despite the more frequently encountered misstatement that there were only two, there actually were three distinctly separate papers. The first, often called the "Old" *Spirit of the Times*, was founded by William T. Porter in the early 1830's (probably December 10, 1831) and expired June 22, 1861, in the midst of annual Vol. XXXI with weekly issue no. 20. The second paper, called *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, was started September 6, 1856, by George Wilkes and William T. Porter, the latter leaving the editorship of the "Old" *Spirit* at that time. *The Union List of Serials* states that *Porter's Spirit* ended with Vol. IX, no. 26, Whole no. 234 (February 19, 1861); and the following bibliographical or historical reference works also suggest in one way or another that *Porter's Spirit* died at that time or earlier: *Bibliotheca Americana* (New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1932), XXII: 571; Robert W. Henderson, *Early American Sport. A Chronological Check-List of Books Published Prior to 1860* (New York, Grolier Club, 1937), p. 96; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard, 1938), pp. 204, 560. No later volume had appeared at the time these works were compiled and no library reported to *The Union List* any issues of *Porter's Spirit* beyond Vol. IX. Recently, however, a copy of Vol. X of *Porter's Spirit* has come to the writer's hand, beginning February 26, 1861, no. 1, Whole no. 235, and ending on August 17, 1861, with no. 26, Whole no. [260] (misnumbered "250" but following Whole no. 259, the issue of August 10). Apparently *Porter's Spirit* continued even somewhat beyond this tenth volume; for *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*, VI: 73 (April 5, 1862) said that *Porter's Spirit* published at its conclusion a statement that it would reappear in monthly form; but the last issue of Vol. X carries no such statement. In addition, *Wilkes' Spirit* (V: 24) in the issue of September 14, 1861—a month after the closing of the tenth volume of *Porter's Spirit*—referred to a contemporary but ailing "sheet, called, by virtue of its own impudence, and of other people's tolerant good nature, a sporting journal"; this probably was *Porter's Spirit*,

with which Wilkes always had kept up a bitter quarrel. And it was not until January 11, 1862, that *Wilkes' Spirit* (V: 269) announced the death of *Porter's Spirit*. So one surely can conclude with safety that *Porter's Spirit* did not die until some time between the ending of Vol. X on August 17, 1861, and the appearance of Wilkes' statement on January 11, 1862. And it probably lived until not far from the latter date, for in the issue of the next week, January 18, *Wilkes' Spirit* again announced, this time in a formal "NOTICE," that *Porter's Spirit* had died. The third and last *Spirit*, called at its beginning *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*, first appeared on September 10, 1859, after George Wilkes angrily left *Porter's Spirit*. This weekly ran until 1902, using the title *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* until July 4, 1868, and after that date calling itself *The Spirit of the Times*. (For clarity, this third journal will be referred to as *Wilkes' Spirit* even when volumes after 1868 are cited.)

The chief source of misconception about the relationships between these three journals was George Wilkes, whose *Wilkes' Spirit* published many misleading statements and even changed its volume numbering in an effort to foster the erroneous idea that *Wilkes' Spirit* was the direct descendant of the more distinguished "Old" *Spirit*. His policy of falsification did not start at once with the founding of *Wilkes' Spirit*, for in VI: 73 (April 5, 1862), he gave an account which despite its inaccuracies did state that the three papers were separate. But on July 4, 1868, in *Wilkes' Spirit*, XVIII: [349], he signed a "Special Notice" which deliberately distorted the facts: "WILKES' SPIRIT OF THE TIMES this week resumes its original title, and appear [*sic*] as THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES. Its publication was originally made under this title, nearly fifty years ago, and it ran under this title for about thirty years, acquiring a standard position and great prosperity. Its title was then changed to PORTER'S SPIRIT, in compliment to the able man who had been its founder. At the death of Mr. Porter, in 1858, its name was changed to WILKES' SPIRIT; and now, after ten years of unexampled prosperity, it returns to its original title. . . ." Wilkes' falsification was repeated often in this third *Spirit*, in articles or notices or replies to correspondents; and it has misled many bibliographers, students, collectors, and booksellers ever since.

Some excellent bibliographical sources, including *The Union List*, have expressed the opinion that there were mergers among these papers, but it is extremely doubtful that there were any mergers at all. *Wilkes' Spirit* was surely taking advantage of vague wording when it asserted, in V: 312 (January 18, 1862): "WILKES' SPIRIT is now the only *Spirit of the Times*

in existence, the 'Old Spirit' and 'Porter's Spirit' both having retired from the field, and become merged into the circulation of this journal." There is no doubt that the oldest *Spirit* never merged with *Wilkes' Spirit* (see articles in the September 19, 1873, and July 6, 1877, issues of *Turf, Field and Farm,* the periodical which bought the assets and good will of the "Old" *Spirit*); and surely the second half of Wilkes' statement—that *Porter's Spirit* merged into *Wilkes' Spirit*—is equally untrue in light of his attitude expressed in a later note, in *Wilkes' Spirit,* VI: 73 (April 5, 1862), which said that *Porter's Spirit* "expired with a foetid odor" and "went out with a feeble protest against death, in the shape of a promise to appear again, at some time, in monthly form; but this was a mere deception to mislead its creditors." He also said, in *Wilkes' Spirit,* V: 296 (January 11, 1862), that *Porter's Spirit* had "yielded the field to us, and given up the ghost." These are not remarks a proprietor makes about a paper he has bought a short time before and merged with his own. Surely here as too often elsewhere it was George Wilkes' intention to deceive.

Among the results of Wilkes' efforts at deception are: *The Union List's* statement that *Porter's Spirit* after Vol. IX merged into *Wilkes' Spirit*; the errors in several late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century periodical articles purporting to give the "true history" of these journals; and the errors made in the accounts of the *Spirit* in the *Oxford Companion to American Literature* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932) and in the lives of William T. Porter and George Wilkes in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1937). Wilkes' falsification took effect even with his enemies, for *Turf, Field and Farm,* the sporting paper with which, after the death of *Porter's Spirit,* Wilkes had his most vigorous quarrels and lawsuits, reëinforced one of Wilkes' misstatements when on September 19, 1873, p. 184, it attempted to correct another:

> September 6, 1856, Mr. George Wilkes, whose editorial experience was acquired in the filthy columns of the *Police Gazette,* started a sporting paper, and to give it the prestige of a gentleman's name, called it *Porter's Spirit of the Times.* On the death of Porter, in 1859 [actually Porter died in 1858; it was in 1859 that Wilkes after quarreling with his partners in *Porter's Spirit* left that paper and founded *Wilkes' Spirit*] the name was changed to *Wilkes' Spirit,* and so continued to 1868, when the name was again changed by omitting from the title the name of Wilkes. . . . From September 6, 1856, to June 22, 1861, the *Spirit of the Times* and *Porter* or *Wilkes' Spirit* were contemporaneous. June 22, 1861, the old and original *Spirit of the Times* was finally suspended. . . . If he were to attempt to carry out his pompous announcement of republishing the

Spirit of the Times, how will [George Wilkes] account for the five years in which there were two journals with that title.

One can only wonder today how he would have accounted for the twenty-one months when there were three such journals. For between September 10, 1859, when *Wilkes' Spirit* was founded, and June 22, 1861, when the "Old" *Spirit* died, all three of these papers—*The Spirit of the Times, Porter's Spirit of the Times,* and *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times,* each under different management—appeared regularly every week, to the confusion of bibliographers unborn.

CARVEL COLLINS

Book Reviews

The Cambridge Press 1638-1692. A Reëxamination of the Evidence concerning the Bay Psalm Book and the Eliot Indian Bible as well as other contemporary books and people. By George Parker Winship, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1945. ix, 385 pages, 9½ x 6¼ inches, $5.00.

Dr. Rosenbach has finally wrung from our associate, George Parker Winship, this distillation of fifty-three years of minute research and bold speculation for which the rest of us have been clamoring since we discovered Mr. Winship as a repository of bibliographical wisdom early in our professional careers. Now that this volume has appeared it is even better than we anticipated. We put it down, when we reached the end, with that profound feeling of satisfaction which comes only from seeing a job well, thoroughly, and completely done. And the book is no mere chronological enumeration of bibliographical facts: it is a biography of the Press in which one feels the enthusiastic youth, the solid middle-aged achievement of the first Indian Bible, and the worn age of its last issues. Everyone interested in printing will revel in the details of composition, printing, and costs, which, thanks to the accidents of time, are perhaps richer for this press than are those of any of its contemporaries. Everyone interested in hand printing or the business details of printing anywhere or anytime will find the book as interesting as a good detective story.

In spite of this unique wealth of detail there are great gaps in our knowledge of the Cambridge Press which Mr. Winship fills with bold and sometimes startling speculations which are, however, always clearly labelled as such. A sample of his bold application of common sense is his presentation of the fact that it is more improbable that an unknown Steven Day should have had a bookplate printed in England in January, 1642, than it is that our locksmith may have made one for himself. There are, of course, other possible interpretations of the facts than those which Mr. Winship gives. To point up these differences efforts are being made by two learned societies to schedule symposia on the Press.

If Mr. Winship's volume can be said to have a thesis it is the subordinate place of the Cambridge Press in New England intellectual life. He

shows that about three-quarters of the output of New England quills was printed in old England, that the Cambridge Press was used chiefly for specialized, emergency, or unimportant printing, such as college theses, Indian tracts, proclamations, and obituary broadsides. Of the Cambridge output perhaps only the almanacs and the New England Psalms paid their own way.

The one great disappointment in Mr. Winship's volume is his failure to include a bibliography of Cambridge imprints with locations. His puckish remarks about unique copies resting "safely" in unspecified private libraries will, we hope, cause him to be troubled by many inquiries from bibliographers. It is hoped that he may be brought to revise his preliminary checklist prepared for the anniversary of the Press, for certainly no one else knows as much about the subject as he.

If ever bibliography justified itself as a way to an understanding of the past, it is in this volume. Mr. Winship succintly reviews those phases of intellectual history which are pertinent to his subject and does it with a clarity of reason and an accuracy which very few historians of New England have ever achieved. True, the man who is writing history would have used such words as "church" and "township" more exactly, but he could not state fundamental truths more clearly and accurately. Without pausing for emphasis Mr. Winship indicates facts, such as the great sale of Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom* in England or the New England ministers' acceptance of John Durie's plan for toleration, which no one writing on the history of this region can in the future safely ignore.

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

The Bibliographical Society. 1892-1942. Studies in Retrospect. London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1945. (Bibliographical Society Publication for the year 1942, issued 1945.) vii, 215 pp. Frontispiece 11½ x 8¾ inches.

In honour of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, the Bibliographical Society [of England] has published this stately volume. The list of contributors who have sketched the growth of the Society and described the development of research in the various fields of its interests is a very impressive one, comprising ten of the most eminent bibliographers of the day—the leading authorities in their respective provinces of study. They are: F. C. Francis, W. W. Greg, V. Scholderer, F. S. Ferguson, F. P. Wilson, H. Williams, M. Sadleir, H. Thomas, E. Ph. Goldschmidt and W. A. Jackson. And lastly, but by no means least of all, the Cambridge University

Press deserves mention for a volume thoroughly representative of those qualities of book-making which the Bibliographical Society has always fostered.

From such talent, much is to be expected and such expectation is in every instance amply rewarded. To write of matters bibliographical is difficult at best but to write in such fashion as to interest the reader in bibliographical work beyond his own particular sphere of interest is difficult in the extreme, and for some of us, alas, patently impossible. For one whose studies have rarely extended beyond the magic year 1501, sacred to the incunabulist, and whose knowledge of the techniques of bibliography in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is (to put it politely) elementary, the sections devoted to books of more recent date have provided fascinating reading and instruction in a most palatable form.

Although the book under review pretends to no more than a recapitulation of the work of the Bibliographical Society and a summary of many of the studies and publications its members have produced, the literary investigators, as well as the collectors and librarians, will find much in the pages of this volume that is unfamiliar to them even in their own particular domains and much that they may have overlooked in related fields. *Studies in Retrospect* will also serve to remind many of us of the half-forgotten investigations of our colleagues of an earlier period. The uninformed reader will learn of the ample scope of the Bibliographical Society, of the purposes and achievements of the study of books by themselves, and of the work yet to be done in order to provide a solid foundation for the research of literary students—in itself, the chief duty and *raison d'être* of the bibliographers. This is a matter of prime importance, since bibliography is still much misrepresented, misunderstood and mistrusted by those who ought to know better.

It is clearly impossible, of course—and quite pointless as well—to write a review in the usual manner of what is itself only a review; for those who wish to know in detail what the volume is about, the book will best speak for itself. An exception may, however, be made in regard to Dr. Greg's chapter on Bibliography, which sharply defines and examines the scope of that much abused or misused word. In Greg's words (p. 27):

> For in the ultimate resort the object of bibliographical study is, I believe, to reconstruct for each particular book the history of its life, to make it reveal in its most intimate detail the story of its birth and adventures as the material vehicle of the living word. As an extension of this follows the investigation of the methods of production in general and of the conditions of survival.

Again Professor F. P. Wilson's brilliant "Shakespeare and the 'New Bibliography' " (the field of the Society's deepest concern) is a great deal more than its title suggests and does not confine itself to publications sponsored or indorsed by the Society or its members. It is by way of being an account of the growth of bibliographical knowledge pertaining to the printed drama (largely in the contributions of Greg, McKerrow and Pollard), its application to Shakespeare criticism and practical illustrations of the consequences of such study—in short, very much a handbook of Shakespeare bibliography.

For American readers, "The Study of Bibliography in America" may be expected to be of special interest. In a way it is unfortunate, though the selection itself is a graceful compliment to his abilities, that William A. Jackson was chosen to prepare this note, for an account of his own work could thus not easily be included. Jackson's three-volume catalogue of the Carl H. Pforzheimer collection (not specifically mentioned) is a monument of bibliographical scholarship, unquestionably the greatest contribution to the study of English books written by a native of this country; his valuable contributions to *The Library* are fortunately listed in other sections of the present book. As for American research in bibliography taken generally, it is sufficient to point out that, in addition to Jackson's work, the investigations of Adams, Bowers, Dawson, McManaway, Nash, Schulz, Willoughby, etc., and the continuation of the *Short-Title Catalogue* single-handedly undertaken by Donald G. Wing, have contributed significantly to the study of the earlier English books, certainly the most important field of research to which the Bibliographical Society has dedicated itself. And if bibliography "by enumeration" in relation to manuscripts and printed books be admitted, we have two more recent works, the remarkably satisfactory *Index of Middle English Verse* by Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins (New York, 1943), and Francis L. Utley's *The Crooked Rib* (Columbus, Ohio, 1944).

This short account is totally inadequate to evaluate the volume under review; it is suggested that anyone interested in the history and present state of bibliographical studies read the work for himself. It is not too much to expect that the next fifty years of the Bibliographical Society's publications will produce work as fruitful and interesting as those brought about by the first half-century of its endeavor.

CURT F. BÜHLER

MONAGHAN, JAY. . . . *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939.* Volume[s] I [and] II. Compiled by Jay Monaghan . . . With a Foreword by James G. Randall . . . Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Library, 1943-[1945]. Volume I, xlv, 519 pp.; Volume II, xi, 560 pp. 9 x 6¼ inches. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume[s] XXXI, XXXII; edited by Paul M. Angle; Bibliographical Series Volume [s] IV, V.) Per set $5.00.

There is no task in the whole literary field as thankless as that of the bibliographer. If the work is ever finished, up pops someone with items which should have been included. No one is ever quite satisfied with the arrangement of the text. If the chronological method is used, immediately the protagonists of the author-index system demand a hearing. Queries on all sides why was such and such an item included? Why such another item excluded? Then, before the printed text can leave the press, if the bibliography is in an active field such as Lincolniana, it is already out of date.

However, it is a little difficult for a collector in reviewing Mr. Monaghan's bibliography to be restrained in its praise. Accustomed as we have been to the use of Fish and Oakleaf, with its arrangement by authors, it is something of a shock to discover that the chronological method had been used in the compilation of this great bibliography. However, the shock is turned into real joy because of the splendid index, and one quickly becomes adjusted to this new arrangement. In fact, the chronological method commends itself most strongly to the historian who is trying to find the pertinent facts of Lincoln's life.

Since the first Lincoln item made its appearance in 1839, it was only natural that Mr. Monaghan should terminate his research with the year 1939. One hundred years of Lincolniana have produced nearly four thousand books and pamphlets which with their variants bring the number nearly to twelve thousand. About twenty years have passed since J. B. Oakleaf[1] got out his bibliography, and, twenty years before Oakleaf, Daniel Fish[2] had revised his bibliography of 1900. And yet, no one was satisfied with what had been done in the Lincoln field. Dealers and collectors were

[1] Oakleaf, Joseph Benjamin, 1858—, compiler, *Lincoln Bibliography: A List of Books and Pamphlets Relating to Abraham Lincoln.* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1925.) [This list does not contain the titles entered in the Fish Bibliography.]

[2] Fish, Daniel, 1848-1924, compiler. *Lincoln Bibliography: A List of Books and Pamphlets Relating to Abraham Lincoln.* (New York: F. D. Tandy Company [c. 1906].)

constantly noting "Not in Fish," "Not in Oakleaf." It is going to be more difficult now to have someone say, "Not in Monaghan."

With the superb Illinois Historical Society collection as a background and with the survey of some forty other collections, both private and institutional, Monaghan has pretty well exhausted the field though he admits that his work was terminated and not completed. We are grateful that it is as complete as it is.

The whole Lincoln fraternity—dealers, collectors, readers and historians—owe to Mr. Monaghan and the Illinois Historical Library a deep debt of gratitude not only for producing such a book but for putting it in the price range of everyone. Fish and Oakleaf have already passed into the realm of collectors' items and few could obtain these volumes even if they were available.

One of the best features of the new bibliography has been the elimination of the name Lincoln whenever possible and the substitution of the name of the author or compiler and possibly the publisher.

One of the features of the chronological arrangement which appeals to the historian is the comparison of the amount of Lincoln material published year by year. In the year of Lincoln's death we note 463 items, largely sermons and addresses. Then by 1871 there was only one article published. But by 1890 Lincoln seems to begin to come into his own and from that time until the present it would seem that there is constant search for new facts about the sixteenth president. The Centennial year of 1909 alone produced 257 books and pamphlets.

A striking fact that one notes is that very few writers have attempted a full length biography of Mr. Lincoln. To pick at random, one finds, *Abraham Lincoln, A Spiritualist; The Boyhood of Lincoln; Recollections of Lincoln and Douglas,* down to *Lincoln Never Smoked a Cigarette;* seemingly every possible phase of Lincoln's life has been covered piecemeal, but few have given us a full-length portrait.

We are grateful to Mr. Monaghan for the thumbnail descriptions he has given us of most of the items listed. Here he often lets play his fine sense of humor. For instance, he observes that a certain address was "non-factual"; and in another "a four stanza poem with five pages of explanation"; and, in still another, "That the North was the aggressor at Sumter; that the war was not fought over slavery and that the South had better horseback riders than Paul Revere."

Some years ago, Professor J. G. Randall, who penned a delightful foreword to the bibliography, wrote a monograph on *Has the Lincoln Theme*

Been Exhausted. Nothing could have proved Professor Randall's answer in the negative better than Monaghan's compilation. Here is food for thought and inspiration for more work in a field which to many seemed already over-worked. Not only do we see clearly what has been done but the incentive to fill the gaps in the Lincoln story will inspire more writers for the future.

STEWART W. MCCELLAND

Iron Works at Tuball: Terms and Conditions for their Lease as stated by Alexander Spotswood on the twentieth day of July 1739, Together with an Historical Introduction by Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia. Charlottesville: Printed for the Tracy W. McGregor Library of the University of Virginia, 1945. Pp. 22. Map, bibliographical note. $5.00.

The document reproduced in this work is Colonel Alexander Spotswood's manuscript of the terms and conditions for the lease of his iron works located at the falls of the Rappahannock in Virginia. It reminds one of a prism through which the richness of its historical setting and implications is revealed when subjected to the discerning scrutiny of a well-trained scholar. The excellent historical introduction integrates the manuscript with the pertinent personalities, factors, and conditions of colonial Virginia, demonstrating the skill of the author in judicious selectivity of fact and in lucid and graceful writing.

Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia for twelve years (1710-1722), is recognized by historians as the outstanding figure among Southern governors during the first half of the eighteenth century. In this capacity he served well the interests of the Crown, the colony, and himself. His business acumen, sharpened by an official interest in the frontier and stimulated by schemes of prominent Virginians, brought him huge holdings in land and an iron business. After his removal from office he and his family resided on the iron plantation until shortly before his death in 1740.

The terms of the lease suggest and disclose many factors basic to this industry in colonial Virginia. Here was an enterprise in a region predominantly agrarian, where slave labor was becoming increasingly important. The problems of food, obtaining draft animals, self-sufficiency of the establishment, the marketing of the product, and English colonial policy are directly involved.

The bibliographical note on Spotswood and his private enterprise will be

most helpful to those interested in exploring the field, and the map of Virginia, which is the frontispiece, is particularly valuable to the reader. This book continues the high quality of craftsmanship seen in the other works published by the McGregor Library.

RALPH B. FLANDERS

American Book-Prices Current. A Record of the Books, Manuscripts, Autographs and Maps Sold in the Principal Auction Rooms of the United States during the Season 1944 (device) *1945*. Edited by Colton Storm. New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1945. xl, 639 pp. ¾ x 6½ inches. $12.50.

ABC begins its second half-century with a new type face and illustrations to enliven its appearance. The fifty-first volume offers the record of a season which indicated an increasing interest in moderately priced titles, many of which appear for the first time. In all, some 18,000 titles were sold during the season in more than ninety sales.

Among the highlights were *The Sportsman's Companion* (New York, 1783), Hastings' *The Emigrant's Guide* (Cincinnati, 1845) and the *Keats-Wordsworth-Hogan* copy of John Keats' *Poems* (London, 1817).

Mr. Storm reports the return of Edward Lazare to the editorial post. The thanks of all bookmen are due Mr. Storm for his arduous efforts which made possible the continuance of so useful a publication during a trying period.

FRED B. ROTHMAN

GALLATIN, A. E. *Aubrey Beardsley. Catalogue of Drawings and Bibliography*. The Grolier Club, New York, 1945. Three hundred copies printed and bound by The George Grady Press, New York, in November, 1945. (2) leaves, vi, 144 pp. (2) leaves, front., 7 plates, 6 x 9¼ inches, $6.00.

In the early nineties of the last century a group of young English artists and writers became inspired by the poetry of Beaudelaire and Verlaine. They revolted against Victorian morals, against Victorian manners of expression in their own country. In consequence, the public called them "decadent." Their road to fame became a thorny path. Aubrey Beardsley was one of them. He went along, as it were, without the recognition of the

older, the established generation; alone he wandered through the crowds which were shocked by his unacademic renderings, his whimsical persiflage, his wilful denunciation. Yet his style of drawing and conception has influenced many artists after him. Impressed with the Japanese pattern, Beardsley seriously combined Burne-Jones and Utamaro into the style of his drawings. To shock the world around him was paramount in his mind. High-spirited, determined, cynical, he devoured *The Gentle Art of Making Eenemies* when it first appeared. No less impressed by it than others he made up his mind to model his wit along its lines and to outdo the author whenever and wherever possible. To scorn the Englishman of comfortable middle class was his main object, to use elegant and cutting terms in his speech became second nature. A somewhat stilted, unhealthy Beardsley thus grew, one who was born to suffer so that he might express himself, and one who suffered intensely through his expressions. But he was full of imagination and of a power of invention that had not been experienced along the banks of the Thames for some time. No wonder then that Pennell, fresh from the States and of more curious and receptive temperament than many of his English colleagues, was the first to pay attention to Beardsley in print. In 1893, when Beardsley was only twenty-one, Pennell wrote a real appreciation of him and his work for the *Studio* and drew public attention to "the new illustrator." Only a few years later, having gained some recognition and certainly interest from this public, Beardsley acknowledged the American's enthusiasm in dedicating his first book of published drawings to him. "To dedicate the collection to Pennell was a singularly gracious impulse," writes Max Beerbohm in *Tomorrow*, "young men who have climbed on to the roof of fame do not usually gild the ladder." With the publication of *Salome* and *The Yellow Book*, Beardsley had established this fame. It was more than fame. He had expressed the essence of the age; he had successfully spoken the language of the group of artists and writers around him; he had established a style of drawing and rendering that was not only unique but that began to revolutionize book illustration; he had made enough enemies to last him a lifetime because, in their eyes, he had become "the very spirit of decadence"; he had freed himself of life's drudgery and of artistic enslavement.

Grouping the published catalogues of Beardsley's drawings and published books together, Mr. Gallatin, collector and friend of the Beardsley family, has issued another, a more complete, version of his earlier efforts. The book before us lists all of Beardsley's known drawings in chronological order, referring to places of publication or, if not published, to location. A

labor of love, indeed, this catalogue and worthy of the attention of students and collectors. An introductory article displays Beardsley's short life, his friends, his surroundings. It also presents Beardsley in a setting that is at once brilliant and frustrated. Here is a genius ready to take off to flight but held back by the conventions of the country. What would his art have been had he been born a Frenchman? Or was the battle against reaction the secret of his success? No matter! Mr. Gallatin's catalogue of 1096 drawings speaks eloquent language. To it, Mr. Gallatin adds a bibliography of the Albums of Drawings, monographs on Beardsley, and studies on Beardsley in books and periodicals, the most complete list published so far though he modestly states that "the section of the bibliography devoted to listing articles on Beardsley must be very incomplete; many articles lie buried in files of periodicals, published all over the world. There must also be many references to Beardsley in books. Probably the value of the material is chiefly in indicating the wide extent of the artist's fame, rather than adding to our knowledge." Other chapters in the book list Beardsley's literary work, collections of his letters, and catalogues of his exhibitions. Mr. Gallatin, further, describes three collections of Beardsley drawings: that of the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University; the Scofield Thayer Collection, on loan at the Fogg; and his own collection which was so successfully shown at The Grolier Club in New York, in 1945. The book is accompanied by three photographs of Beardsley, hitherto unpublished, as well as by seven drawings never published before. There is no doubt that this catalogue of Beardsley drawings will prove to be a reference work of value.

KARL KUP

FERGUSON, JOHN ALEXANDER. *Bibliography of Australia By John Alexander Ferguson . . . Volume II: 1831-1838.* Sydney, London: Angus and Robertson Ltd., 1945. x pp., [1] leaf, 568 pp. Plates (facsims.) 9½ x 6 inches. £3-3-0.

In fulfillment of the promise made in Volume I of his *Bibliography of Australia,* 1941, Mr. Justice Ferguson has in the last year of the war issued the second volume of this monumental work, bringing the record down through the year 1838. It is announced in the brief Introduction to the second volume that the author has in preparation a third volume covering the period 1839-1850, "which must be the final limit of a general bibliography on so extended a scale."

Although Volume II covers only the eight years 1831-1838, it is bulkier than Volume I which covers nearly a half-century: 1784-1830 (reviewed in *The Papers*, Vol. 39, First Quarter 1945, pp. 74-76). This of course reflects the rapid expansion of Australian activities during the 1830's, and would indicate a large volume or perhaps two volumes for the period 1839-1850. For the eight years covered in Volume II an average of 159 items per year have been described; for the preceding eight-year period, 1823-1830, there is only an average of 66 entries per year.

The form of entry in the second volume is the same as that employed in the first, and the wealth of historical and biographical notes makes both volumes a veritable history of Australia in bibliographical form. In such an ambitious undertaking a few omissions are inevitable, but except for these all Australian activities that found their way into print in any part of the world in this period are here recorded. The following list of some of the principal subjects (exclusive of proper names) listed in the index will serve to indicate under what categories some of the chief Australian activities of that period fell: aborigines, administration of justice, almanacs, banks, colonization, convicts and transportation, crime and punishment, crown lands, education, emigration, exploration, fermented and spirituous liquor, immigration, juries, libraries, mails, medical profession, natural history, newspapers, periodicals, petitions, police, public houses, religion, revenue, sheep, ship-wrecks, supreme court, trials, voyages, and water supply.

Volume II contains 39 full-page facsimiles of title-pages, broadsides, etc. (more than in Volume I), 40 pages of Addenda to Volume I, and a 60-page index which—it will be seen from the foregoing paragraph—amply records subjects as well as proper names.

Mr. Justice Ferguson is revealing himself as the Sabin of Australia; and it is gratifying to note with what care and detail he is presenting his important record.

George L. McKay